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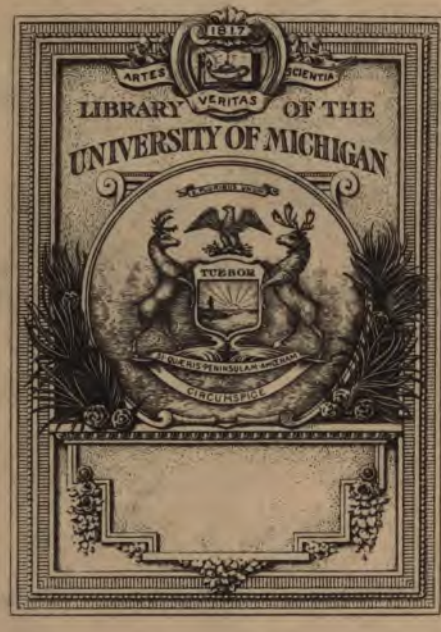
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THE WORKS

OF

1577— 1640

THOMAS JACKSON, D.D.

SOMETIME

PRESIDENT OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD,

AND DEAN OF PETERBOROUGH.

A NEW EDITION, IN TWELVE VOLUMES,
WITH A COPIOUS INDEX.

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ADVERTISEMENT,

A. D. 1844.

This Edition contains the Works of Dr. Thomas Jackson, as collected and put forth by Barnabas Oley, in 3 vols. folio in the year 1673, together with the Preface of the same Editor, and a Life of Dr. Jackson written by Edmund Vaughan, a contemporary and fellow of his own college. To these are now added the brief account of the Author, contained in the Athenæ Oxonienses of A. Wood, together with notes and corrections compiled from authentic sources, and copies of Dr. Jackson's Will and the inventory of his effects, obtained from the registry of the University. The whole is concluded by a new Index, which, it is confidently expected, will afford the greatest assistance to the reader, who may wish to know Dr. Jackson's complete sentiments on any subject discussed in his Works.

The numbers in the margin denote the pages of the folio edition.

SOME PARTICULARS

OF

DR. JACKSON'S LIFE,

FROM A. WOOD'S ATHENÆ OXONIENSES,

Vol. II. col. 664. ed. Bliss.

THOMAS JACKSON, the ornament of the university in his time, was born at Witton on the river Weer in the bishopric of Durham on the day of S. Thomas the Apostle, an. 1579, [a]became a student in Queen's coll. under the tuition of [b]Crakanthorpe, in Midsummer term 1595, was admitted scholar of C. C. coll. 24 March 1596, and prob. fellow 10 May 1606, [c]being then M. of A. and had laid the grounds carefully in arithmetic, grammar, philology, geometry, rhetoric, logic, philosophy,

[a] [*became a student.* In this matter he was indebted to the liberality of Ralph, the third lord Eure, of Witton, lieutenant of the principality of Wales for king James I, as he gratefully acknowledges in the Dedication of his two first books of Commentaries.]

[b] [*Crakanthorpe.* Who was a friend of lord Eure, and went with him as chaplain when he was sent by king James as embassador extraordinary to the emperor of Germany. A. Wood speaks of Crakanthorpe in the following terms: "Being a noted preacher and a profound disputant in divinity, (of which faculty he was a bachelor,) he was admired by all great men, and had in veneration especially by the puritanical party, he being himself a zealot among them, as having with others of the same college, entertained many of the principles of Dr. John Rainolds while he lived there.——He was a person esteemed by most men to have been replenished with all kind of virtue and learning, to have been profound in philosophical and theological learning, a great canonist, and so familiar and exact in the fathers, councils and schoolmen, that none in his time scarce went beyond him." Ath. Ox. V. ii. col. 361.]

[c] [*being then M. of A.* He became B.A. July 23, 1599, M.A. July 9, 1603, B.D. June 25, 1610, and D.D. June 26, 1622. Fasti Oxon.]

Oriental languages, histories, &c. with an insight in heraldry and hieroglyphics. All which he made use of to serve either as rubbish under the foundation, or as drudges and day-labourers to theology. In 1622 he proceeded D. D. and two years after [d]left his coll. for a benefice in his own country, which the president and society thereof had then lately conferr'd on him. But he [e]keeping the said living not long, was made vicar of

[d] [*left his college.* He quitted the college, and it is probable that he soon afterwards resigned his fellowship. It is surprising that both Wood and Vaughan, the latter of whom was a fellow of the college at the time, should have stated that he was presented to a benefice in the county of Durham by the president and fellows of his own college. The living to which they refer was the rectory of Winston, in the patronage of the bishop of Durham, and he received it from bp. Neile, whose chaplain he also became about the same time. The mistake may probably have arisen from this circumstance. In the year 1616 the president and fellows had engaged by a formal act to present Dr. Jackson to one of their livings when it should next become vacant, and this engagement may have been supposed by his biographers to have taken effect when he became rector of Winston. But the living in question was in Somersetshire, and did not become vacant till the year 1625, at which time, accordingly, Dr. Jackson having become incapable of holding it, owing to his preferment in the north, it was presented to a different person. These facts are obtained from Mr. Fullman's papers in the possession of the college.]

[e] [*keeping the said living not long.* Vaughan also says, in speaking of the rectory of Winston, "from thence he removed to the vicarage of Newcastle," and thus both biographers appear to have believed that Dr. Jackson ceased to be rector of Winston at the time when he became the vicar of Newcastle. But the fact was otherwise. He resided indeed at Newcastle, but it appears from Rymer (Fœdera, vol. xviii. p. 660.) that he obtained a dispensation, bearing date May 12, 1625, to enable him to hold the two livings together. He was instituted to the vicarage on the 27th of November 1623, and continued to discharge the duties of it to the time of his resignation in the year 1630, when he was appointed to the headship of his college. (Brand's Hist. of Newcastle, vol. i. p. 305.) From the dedication of his Discourses to bishop Neile, in the year 1624, we learn that he was at that time residing in Oxford: but it also appears, that he was only absent for a time, and with permission from the bishop; and in dedicating the sixth book of his Exposition to the earl of Pembroke, in the year 1627, we find him dating from his study at Newcastle upon Tyne.

In speaking of Dr. Jackson's removal to Newcastle, Vaughan says that it was "with consent from the same college obtained, where no re-

S. Nicholas church in Newcastle upon Tine, where he was much followed and admired for his excellent way of preaching, which was then puritanical. At length being elected president of C. C. coll., partly with the helps of Neile bishop of Durham, (who before had taken him off from his precise way, and made him his chaplain,) but [f]more by the endeavours of Dr. Laud, and also made chaplain in ordinary to his majesty, he left the

quest could be denied him," and these words would seem to imply, that he requested and received permission from the college to hold his fellowship together with his preferment in the north. But the more probable interpretation is, that the words refer to the rectory of Winston, which, on Vaughan's supposition of his having received it from the college, he could not have continued to hold together with the vicarage without their consent. He had probably resigned his fellowship some time previously, as according to modern practice, it would be impossible to retain a fellowship in that society for any considerable time after institution either to Winston or to Newcastle.

The vicarage of Newcastle was in the patronage of the bishop of Carlisle, but it would appear from the words of the Dedication already noticed, that Dr. Jackson was indebted to his friend the bishop of Durham for his appointment; unless we suppose the words to refer, not to his presentation to the living, but merely to his institution, which he would certainly receive from the hands of bishop Neile. He says, "These papers contain only the first fruits of my labours in that worthy and famous congregation, which it pleased your lordship about a year ago to commit unto my trust." This description, however, applies exactly to the large and flourishing town of Newcastle, but is utterly out of place in reference to so remote and limited a population as that of Winston.

But it is clear that the two biographers are again in error. Surtees states (Hist. of Durham, vol. iv. p. 36.) that Dr. Jackson was instituted to the rectory of Winston in the year 1625. If this date be correct, Newcastle was the first of the two livings to which he was now presented. The statement of Surtees is confirmed by the dispensation contained in Rymer's Fœdera, which bears date May 12, 1625, and speaks of Winston as the living allowed to be held together with the other.

The name of Jackson appears frequently on the records of the town of Newcastle. Sir John Jackson, knt. was recorder about the year 1620, and William Jackson, town-clerk and sometime sheriff, died Aug. 8, 1630. Surtees' Hist. of Durham, vol. iii. p. 271.]

[f] [*more by the endeavours of Dr. Laud.* This account is scarcely consistent with the statement of Vaughan, but it may still be perfectly correct, as Laud, then bishop of London, had a few months previously been appointed chancellor of the University, and had already taken an active part in its proceedings.]

said vicarage, and was made [g] prebendary of Winchester, [h] vicar of Witney in Oxfordshire, and [i] dean of Peterborough in the place of Dr. Joh. Towers promoted to the episcopal see thereof, by the favour of the said Laud, an. 1638. He was a person furnished with all learned languages, arts and sciences, especially metaphysics, which he looked upon as a necessary handmaid to divinity. He was also profoundly read in the fathers, and was of a wonderful and deep judgment, as it appears by his works that are much admired by all persons. None wrote more highly concerning the attributes of God, and more vigorous in some of his works, against the church of Rome, than he.—"I speak it in the presence of God," ([k] saith one,) "I have not read so hearty, vigorous a champion against Rome, (amongst our writers of his rank) so convincing and demonstrative, as Dr. Jackson is. I bless God for the confirmation which he hath given me in the Christian religion against the Atheist, Jew, and Socinian; and in the Protestant against Rome," &c. In a word, he was a man of a blameless life,

[g] [*prebendary of Winchester.* He was installed June 18, 1635, and obtained the appointment from the crown, which in that instance had the right of presentation, on the promotion of Dr. Wren, the former prebendary, to the see of Hereford. Dr. Jackson's two patrons, Laud and Neile, had then become archbishops of Canterbury and York, and he had had opportunities of making himself favourably known to the court in his office as one of his majesty's chaplains.]

[h] [*vicar of Witney.* He was presented by the king in right of the prerogative during the vacancy of the see of Winchester, to which the patronage of the living belonged. He was instituted July 8, 1632, and on his resignation his successor obtained institution on the 12th of November, 1637. Vaughan says in his Life of Dr. Jackson, that he gave his vicarage of Newcastle to Mr. Alvye of Trinity college, and the vicarage of Witney, after he had incurred much expense respecting it, to Mr. Thomas White, then proctor of the University. How far Dr. Jackson's recommendation of these two clergymen may have had weight with the bishops of Carlisle and Winchester, the patrons of the two livings in question, cannot now be ascertained, but it is clear that he could not have had any absolute right of presentation to them.]

[i] [*dean of Peterborough.* This appointment was made late in the year 1638 or early in 1639, but there is no entry in the Register of his instalment. (Le Neve, Fasti.) Browne Willis (Survey of Cathed.) says, that he was admitted to the deanery on the 17th of January, $163\frac{8}{9}$.]

[k] *saith one.* Barnabas Oley, in the Life of George Herbert. Lond. 1652, and in 1675. [Herbert's Remains, sign. A 12.]

studious, humble, courteous, and very charitable, devout towards God, and exemplary in private and public, beloved of Laud archb. of Cant. and blamed by none in any respect, but by the restless presbyterians; the chief of whom, Will. Prynne, who busily concerned himself in all affairs, doth give him [l]this character in the name of the brethren. — "Dr. Jackson of Oxon is a man of great abilities, and of a plausible, affable, courteous deportment, till of late he hath been transported beyond himself, with metaphysical contemplations to his own infamy and his renowned mother's shame, I mean the university of Oxon, who grieves for his defection; from whose duggs he never sucked his poisonous doctrines."—"Also that he is" (as in [m]another place he tells us) "of civil conversation and learning, which made his errors and preferments more dangerous and pernicious, and that it was his Arminian errors, not his learning or honesty, that were the ground of his advancement to his dignity," &c. [n]He tells us also in another place,

[l] *this character.* In his Anti-Arminianism, or the Church of England's Old Antithesis, printed 1630. p. 270. [edit. 1629. p. 133. The passage goes on as follows, "his evidence hath been blanched and blasted by a parliament examination, excepted against by the convocation house, answered by some, disowned by most of our divines."]

[m] *as in another place.* Canterb. Doom, p. 532.

[n] [*He tells us also.* In his Append. to Anti-Arminianism, published in 1630. In the preceding year the house of commons had adopted the following Protest, "We, the Commons in parliament assembled, do claim protest and avow for truth the sense of the Articles of Religion, (which were established by parliament in the 13th year of our late queen Elizabeth,) which by the public act of the church of England, and by the general and current expositions of the writers of our church has been delivered unto us. And we reject the sense of the Jesuits and Arminians, and all others wherein they differ from us." This Protest was occasioned by the appearance of the royal Declaration, published together with the Thirty-nine Articles in 1628, which prohibited all disputes and speculations on the Calvinistic points, and the effect of which was to condemn the Calvinistic interpretation that had hitherto prevailed. But the complaint of the puritans was not merely that they were prohibited from expressing their sentiments, but that the opposite party, who were equally included under the prohibition, were favoured by the court and the archbishop, and allowed to publish their opinions with impunity. It was in November 1627 that Dr. Jackson sent forth his treatise of the Divine Essence, which forms the sixth book of his Exposition; and as he had

"that he was convented in the last parliament, yea openly accused in the last convocation for his heretical Arminian books, which have been censured by Mr. Hen. Burton in his *Seven Viols*, and particularly answered by the acute and learned Dr. Twisse," &c. The parliament that Prynne means, was that which sate in 1628, wherein he had like to have been [o] sore handled for certain tenets, I cannot say, so far driven by

already acquired the reputation of being an Arminian, and did not disguise his sentiments in his new publication, he met with much criticism and hostility. The following are the words of Henry Burton, in his book called The Seven Vials (p. 112): "The other day comes forth a third book, the author of it (I dare say) of no small correspondence with the former. He on the other side pleads for Arminius, and that not now *obvoluto capite* as the former, but *aperta fronte et ex professo*. In his Epistle dedicatory (wherein he seeks to endear his service to a great Mecænas [lord Pembroke] of one of our famous academies, God grant he aim not at some of the learned chairs wherein to vent his not 'popular' nor 'pulpit' speculations) he gives a dangerous by-blow to the opposites of Arminius and his doctrines in these words, 'If the man which most mislikes the Arminian or Lutheran doctrine in the points most controverted through reformed churches will but agree with me in these two, That the Almighty Creator hath a true freedom in doing good, and Adam's offspring a true freedom in doing evil, I shall not dissent from him in any other points controverted, unless it be in this one, that there needs be no other controversy at all between the Arminians and their opposites in point of God's providence and predestination.' In so saying he would seem to imply, that the opposites of Arminius, in the point specially of predestination, do hold a kind of stoical fatality and servitude in Adam's offspring, necessitated by divine decree unto all their evil actions." The same objections were urged by more able opponents, as for instance, by Dr. S. Ward, in a letter addressed to abp. Usher, and dated at Cambridge, May 16, 1628, in which he says, "Dr. Jackson hath lately set forth a book of the Attributes of God, wherein, in the preface to the earl of Pembroke, he doth profess himself an Arminian, ascribing to the opposites of Arminius, as I conceive, that God's decrees before the creation take away all possibilities of contrary events after the creation.——This conceit, as I conceive, maketh him elsewhere to impugn all divine predefinitions, as prejudicious to man's liberty and freedom; which is a most silly conceit." Usher's Life, p. 394.]

[o] [*sore handled.* This passage is taken by Wood from Oley's Life of Herbert, (Herbert's Remains, sign. A 10,) where it runs thus: "He [Jackson] had like to have been sore shent by the parliament in the year 1628 for tenets in divinity, I can not say, so far driven by him, as by some men now they are with great applause."]

him, as by some men since, and now, they have, and are, with great applause. His works are these,

The eternal Truth of Scriptures, and Christian Belief, thereon wholly depending, manifested by its own Light. Lond. 1613. qu. [Bodl. 4to. J. 26. Th.] This is the first book of his *Comments on the Creed.*

How far the Ministry of men is necessary for planting true Christian Faith, and retaining the unity of it planted. Lond. 1613. qu. [Printed with the former.] This is the second book of his *Com. on the Creed.*

Blasphemous Positions of Jesuits and other later Romanists, concerning the Authority of the Church. Lond. 1614. qu. [Bodl. 4to. J. 6. Th.] This is the third book of his *Com. on the Creed.*

Justifying Faith: Or, the Faith by which the Just do live. A Treatise containing a Description of the Nature, Properties, and Conditions of Christian Faith. Lond. 1615, and 1631. qu. This is the fourth book of his *Com. on the Creed.*

A Discovery of Mispersuasions, breeding Presumption, and Hypocrisy, and Means how Faith may be planted in Unbelievers.—Printed with the former book called *Justifying Faith*, &c.

Treatise containing the Original of Unbelief, Misrepresentation, or Mispersuasions concerning the Verity, Unity, and Attributes of the Deity, &c. Lond. 1625. qu. This is the fifth book of his *Com. on the Creed.*

Treatise of the Divine Essence and Attributes. Lond. 1628. qu. the first part. [Bodl. 4to. M. 43. Th.] The second part was also printed there in 1629. qu. [Bodl. 4to. C. 39. Th.] Which two parts make the sixth book of his *Comments on the Creed.* The first part was dedicated to Will. earl of Pembroke, with a plausible epistle, wherein, as [p]one saith, "The author professeth himself an Arminian, and patron of their tenets. And from chap. 8. to the 20th he professedly maintains a mutability in God's eternal decrees of election and reprobation, depending upon the actions and wills of men, universal grace and redemption; with other Arminian errors. This book, though publicly complained of, was never called in by the bishop

[p] *one saith.* Prynne, Canterb. Doom, p. 166.

(Laud) but the second part thereof was printed with license, an. 1629, and the author of it advanced to the presidentship of C. C. col. in Oxon, by this bishop, yea, by him designed to be doctor of the chair (though he missed that preferment) to poison the university of Oxford with his Arminian druggs."

The Knowledge of Christ Jesus: Or the seventh Book of the Commentary of the Apostles Creed. A larger title of this runs thus: *Christ exercising his everlasting Priesthood*, &c. *Or a Treatise of the Knowledge of Christ which consists in the true Estimate or Experimental Valuation of his Death, Resurrection, and Exercise of his everlasting Sacerdotal Function*, &c. Lond. 1634. qu.

Humiliation of the Son of God, by his becoming the Son of Man, &c. Lond. 1626, and 36. qu[q]. This is the eighth book of his *Com. on the Creed.*

Treatise of the Consecration of the Son of God to the everlasting Priesthood, &c. Lond. 1628, and 33. Oxon. 1638. qu. [Bodl. 4to. S. 14. Th.] This is the ninth book of *Com. on the Creed.*

The second part of the Knowledge of Jesus Christ, &c. Lond. 1654. fol. The tenth book of *Com. on the Creed.*

Dominus Veniet. Of Christ's Session at the right Hand of God, and Exaltation thereby, &c. Lond. 1657. fol. [Bodl. 4to. M. M. 1. Jur.] The eleventh book of *Com. on the Creed.* Which, with the tenth, and a preface concerning them and their author, were published by his great admirer Barnabas Oley, M. A. of Cambridge, who had before published the second edit. of the three first books, Lond. 1653, fol. with a large preface likewise of his composition, but the life which followed was written by Edm. Vaughan, as I shall anon tell you. This Barnaby Oley was installed prebendary of Worcester 4 of Septemb. 1660, and was afterwards bach. of divinity and archdeacon of Ely. He died 20 Febr. 1685, whereupon Joh. Hough, B. D. of Magd. coll. in Oxon, succeeded him in his prebendship, and Will. Saywell, D. D. master of Jesus coll. in Cambridge, in his archdeaconry.

Several sermons, as, (1.) *Five Sermons befitting these pre-*

[q] *and* 36. *qu.* The Bodleian copy (4to. B. 48: Th.) is 'Printed by M. Flesher for John Clark, and are to be sold at his shop under St. Peter's church in Cornhill, 1635.'

sent Times. Two of which are on 2 Cor. vi. 39, 40, and the other three on Jerem. xxvi. 19. Oxon. 1637. qu. (2.) *Treatise concerning the Signs of the Times, or God's Forewarning; being the Sum of some few Sermons on Luke* xiii. 5—9. Oxon. 1637. qu. [Bodl. 4to. B. 48. Th.] (3.) *Sermon or Posthill preached on the second Sunday in Advent* 1630. On Luke xxi. 25.—Printed with the aforesaid *Treatise concerning the Signs*, &c. (4.) *Nazareth and Bethlem; or, Israel's Portion in the Son of Jesse*, &c. Two Sermons on Jerem. xxxi. 21, 22. (5.) *Mankind's Comfort from the weaker Sex:* on Gal. iv. 5, 6. (6.) Two Sermons: one on Matth. ii. vers. 1, 2, and the other on the 17th and 18th verses of the same chapter. (7.) *Christ's Answer unto John's Question: Or, an Introduction to the Knowledge of Jesus Christ, and him Crucified; in certain Sermons at Newcastle upon Tyne*, &c.

Treatise of the Holy Cath. Faith, and Church, in 3 Books. Lond. 1627. qu. This is the twelfth book of his *Com. on the Creed.*

Treatise of Christian Obedience.

Treatise of the primeval Estate of Man; of the Manner how Sin found Entrance into, and is propagated in the World, &c. Lond. 1654. fol.

Discourse of the Limitation of the two Propositions in the thirteenth Verse of the eighth Chapter to the Romans.

Vindication, or a serious Answer to Mr. Hen. Burton's Exceptions taken against a Passage in his Treatise of his Divine Essence and Attributes.

Paraphrase on the eleven first Chapters of Exodus, with useful Annotations, Observations, and Parallels.

Salvation only from God's Grace, or an Exposition of Rom. ix. 16.

God's just Hardning of Pharaoh, when he had filled up the Measure of his Iniquity: Or, an Exposition on Rom. ix. 18—24.

Treatise concerning the Acts and Exercises of the Son of God's everlasting Priesthood.—Which six last treatises, or books, were printed with the *Treatises of the primeval Estate of Man*, &c. 1654. fol. [Bodl. B S. 87.]

Three Errors disparaging Christ's Priesthood. (1.) *The*

Novatian denying the Reception of some sort of Sinners. (2.) &c.

Twenty Sermons, or thereabouts.

Most of which books, sermons, and treatises, having been published at several times, were collected together, (with others added to them,) and printed at Lond. 1672, 73, [by Barnabas Oley] in three volumes in fol. [Bodl. Z. 1. 5, 6, 7. Jur.] with the author's life prefixed, (as it was before the three first books of *Comments on the Creed.* Lond. 1653. fol.) written by Edm. Vaughan, sometimes fellow of C. C. coll., whom I shall mention elsewhere. Our author Dr. Jackson also wrote

An Historical Narration—This I have not yet seen, nor do I know farther of its title. It was licensed by Dr. Edw. Martin, domestic chaplain to bishop Laud, without his privity, for which he turned him out of his service, (as he [r] himself saith,) and the book was called in and suppressed. But Prynne, an implacable enemy to that bishop, [s] saith, that the said *Historical Narration*, which was the vilest imposture that ever was thrust upon our church, was licensed by the said Martin with Laud's privity, and that the calling of it in, was the act of archb. Abbot upon Prynne's complaint, and the public scandal it gave, much against Laud's will, who ever since connived at the sale of them. At length after our author Dr. Tho. Jackson had spent sixty years or more in this life, mostly in studies and devotion, he surrendered up his devout soul to him that gave it on the 21st of Sept. in sixteen hundred and forty, and was buried in the inner chapel of Corp. Ch. coll., but hath no memory at all over his grave.

[r] *himself saith.* See in Canterb. Doom, p. 508.
[s] *saith, that.* Ibid. p. 510.

DR. JACKSON'S WILL.

IN the name of God Amen. In the yeare of our Ld. God 1640, Sept. the 5th, I, Thomas Jackson, being in a sicklie and weake estate of body, but (God's name be praysed for it) in perfect health of soule and mind, and in sound memorie, doe thus dispose of my selfe and of my worldly estate.

First, I bequeath my soule and cōmend my spirit into the handes of my gratious Creator and Redemer. Secondly, I cōmit my body without any dissection unto the grave, in hope of a ioyfull resurection, through the power and efficacie of the glorious resurrection of my Saviour Jesus Christ, and my desire is, that my body may be buyried in the chappell of Corpus Christi colledge, without all funerall pompe or solemnitie besides Cōmon prayers according to the rites of our Church of England. For my temporall and worldlie estate: First, I bequeath to Corpus Christi colledge in Oxford my box of gold, wherin I have usuallie kept the Founders ring; and allso I give to the said colledge, all those bookes which are mentioned in a schedle annexed to this my will. I likewise give to my servant Richard Benson diverse bookes mentioned in the same schedle. Itē, I give to good wife Hans fourtie shillings. Itē, I give to the pore of St. John's parish thirtie shillings.

And I doe constitute and appoint Christopher Downes my sole exequutor of this my last will and testament, and farther I give the third part of my clere estate, debts and legacies being payed, to my neece Ann Penn, and I doe request and appoint my deare and loving brother Dr. Sheldē, wardē of All Soules, and my loving friend Robert Newlin, oveseers of this my will, and heartyly desire thē, that they would afford my exequutor upon all occasions their best advise, counsell, and furtherance; and I farther cōmend to their care and custodie all my papers and manuscripts, to be perused and published as

they thinke fitt, and that this is my last will and testament the subscriptiō of my name and putting to of my seale doe testifie,

Thomas Jacksō.

Gilb. Sheldon.
Robert Newlin.

L. S.

Item, I bequeath to the Librarie of Corpus Christi colledge these bookes following:

1. Radolphus Bainus his Coment upon the Proverbes, with such workes of Espencæus as are bound up with him.
2. Cedrenus his workes with other workes bound there with in white vellom.
3. The hystorie of Ravenna by Hieronimus Rubæus and the hystorie of Genoa by Hubertus Folieta.
4. Goropius Becanus his workes in 2 volumes folio.
5. Aristotlis Mechanica with Mononthosius his Coment, and Buteo upon Noah's Arke.
6. Carolus Molinæus contra parvas datas.
7. Simonis Maiolæ dies caniculares, with three volumes more greate or smale at the discretiō of the forementioned overseers of this my will.

Itē, I bequeath to my trustie and faithfull Amanuensis Richard Benson these bookes following:

1. Themistius his paraphrase upon Aristles 8 bookes of Physickes bound up with Petrus de Albano upō Aristotles problems.
2. Maioragius his coment upō Aristot. de cælo et de gen. et corrupt.
3. Philippus Mosenicus his Logicke and Philosophie.
4. Andræi Cesalpini peripateticæ quæstiones with wt other workes are bound with him.
5. Francisci Valesii controversiæ medicæ et philosophicæ.
6. Fredericus Bonaventura de partu octomestri.

Thomas Jackson.

Sept. 5. 1640.
writtē by me Robert Newlin.

An inventorie of the goods and chattells of Thomas Jackson late Dr. of Divinitie and President of Corpus Christi Colledge in Oxford, taken and prized the XXXth of Octob. 1640 by us whose names are underwritten.

	£.	s.	d.
Inprimis all his bookes	103	0	0
It: in readie money	60	13	8
It: in bills and bonds	11	5	0
It: a scarlet hood and habit and all his wearing apparell	10	13	4
It: a small watch	2	10	0
It: a white rugge	1	10	0
It: a halfehead bedstead, a feather bed and bolster, a yallow rugge matt and cord	2	10	0
It: two desques	0	5	0
It: a close stoole and pan, a bed-pan	0	8	0
It: three small trunkes, two boxes, a cabinet	0	6	8
It: a beaver brush	0	0	4
It: in desperate debts	69	8	4
It: a little gold boxe	2	10	0
It: an enameld ring	0	10	0
It: a three cornerd salt	0	10	0
It: two silver seales	0	3	4
It: six other bookes	0	8	0
It: two hundred fortie sixe bookes in quires	6	3	0
It: boxes and other lumber	0	3	4
Sum̄ is	270	18	0

Sollodell Lichfield &
William Davis

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

A.D. 1673.

TO

THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

GILBERT,

BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE, LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

HIS GRACE,

Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, and one of his Majesty's most honourable privy council.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

OUR most holy and wise God, who at first commanded light to shine out of darkness, was pleased, as in former ages, so in the late times of public calamity, to make his face to shine upon his servants, who chose rather to quit all externals than to lose peace of conscience; to become aliens to their mothers, than complices with strange children.

I have alway cause to remember many, and at this time a necessity to relate some sweet contrivances of God's providence manifested in those days.

One was, God's creating for me, out of the infelicities of those times, this happiness then to be made known unto your Grace.

A second was, God's improvement of this blessing, so as to bring on a greater, by inclining your heart, not only to take notice of so mean a person, but with memorable alacrity to gratify my desires of viewing the precious and excellent manuscripts of the reverend and learned Dr. Jackson, of blessed memory.

The third was, that after these two favours sown in tears, (times of the church's affliction,) there was another reaped in joy, at the blessed time of restitution; a preferment to a prebend in the cathedral church of Worcester, bestowed upon me by his sacred Majesty, but by your Grace's voluntary mediation.

There be due, by way of justice unto patrons and benefactors, two things—improvement and gratitude.

I do therefore here make unto your Grace a solemn legal tender of an ancient debt, a multitude of most humble, dutiful, and cordial thanks, due unto your Grace for all your favours: beseeching your Grace, not only to pity, but to accept them even for that quality which makes things sometimes to be rejected—their plainness and simplicity; and to believe that I neither think my debt lessened by what I now pay, nor find mine heart any whit emptied, but that it still remains full, and fully resolved to practise the more excellent way of paying thanks by prayer in the closet, rather than by publishing them in print.

The improvement of your Grace's favour in my prebend must appear in the employment of the profits, (which were neither spent in profuseness, nor hoarded up in avarice, nor bestowed upon relations,) and discharge of incumbent duties; and these were performed with fidelity, and to the best of my abilities, and with frequent reflections that your Grace did place me there.

And for those rare manuscripts, though I improved them first to my private comfort in time of affliction, to my employ-

ment in a time of cashierment or sequestration, and into a library when I had twice lost my books; yet soon after, as I received them from your Grace most freely, so I freely delivered them for public good: and having now passed the press, some ones of them (which have been twice printed) are become thousands, and others are improved above an hundred-fold.

From this I receive comfort, that my private deficiency in thankfulness to your Grace may be supplied abundantly from a public stock. For wherever this author's works shall be read, it will be known to all, that besides what they owe unto your Grace for your constant care and continual vigilancy over the church, they are indebted to your Grace entirely for a third part of these learned Comments upon the Creed, or rather wholly for them all; the other parts being not likely to have come forth (as they now come) unless impelled by what your Grace communicated; and so will find themselves obliged to acknowledge a great debt of thanks to your Grace, and to pay that debt in prayer to God, that he will prolong your days, continue your health, and assist you in your government. That God will graciously please to bestow this blessing upon this church, shall be the daily prayer of

Your Grace's most obliged, grateful, and dutiful
son and servant,

BARNABAS OLEY.

A .

PREFACE

TO THE CHRISTIAN READER,

PARTICULARLY TO THE YOUNGER SORT OF STUDENTS IN DIVINITY, AND ACADEMICAL MEN.

A.D. 1673.

Grace, mercy, and peace from our Lord Jesus Christ.

IT is the part of ingenuity to acknowledge by whom a man hath profited.

M. Aurelius Antoninus most gratefully mentions some single rules of morality which he received from such and such, the prudent instructors of his youth.

It is a piece of charity to shew unto others those mines that have enriched ourselves, or the fountains out of which we have drawn cleansing and quenching, nourishing and healing waters.

We do not well to conceal from those in the city (though they have shut us out as unclean) the great good we have discovered during our exclusion, (thus much in effect said the Samaritan lepers, 2 Kings vii. 9.)

"O that my lord was acquainted with the prophet in Israel!" (said Naaman's little captive maid,) "he would cure my master's leprosy," 2 Kings v. 3.

"Come, see a man that told me all that ever I did," said the Samaritan woman to her neighbours, John iv. 29.

If I mistake not, I shall in some acceptable measure at once perform (at least resemble) all the forementioned offices, when I have in short told the Christian, more signally the learned, or reader willing to learn, thus much; that what

[a] See his Meditations in English, (and in Greek and Latin,) put out by the learned Dr. Casaubon.

acquired skill I have in theology, what understanding I have got in holy scripture, (under God,) I owe it in a manner all to this author: *hic vir, hic est.* This is the man whom I acknowledge to have been my master, and *mystagogus in divinis.* From him I learned how to use my small stock of human learning in the pursuit of divine. By him was my soul convinced of the truth of scriptures, and stored with arguments to persuade others; that at least it was worth their labour to try, whether faithful practice of scripture rules would not produce a willing submission to the authority of scripture. I did not know what a monster that idol infallibility was, till I saw it drawn out by his pencil. I had swallowed, and, as I thought, concocted, the common definition of faith, by a full particular assurance. But when I read this author, I perceived that plerophory was the golden fruit that grew on the top-branch, not the first seed, no not the spreading root of that tree of life, by feeding on which the just do live; and that true *fiducia* can grow no faster than, but shoots up just parallel with, *fidelitas.* I mean, that true confidence towards God is adequate to sincere and conscientious obedience to his holy precepts.

Faith is an assent to the truth or goodness of what God revealeth in his word, be it history, mystery, precept, promise, or threat.

Before I had read this author, I measured hypocrisy by the gross and vulgar standard, thinking the hypocrite had been one that had deceived men like himself: but in this author I found him to be a man that had attained the *magisterium Satanæ*, even the art of deluding his own soul with unsound, but high and immature persuasions of sanctity and certainty; and that not by the *cubeia*, or cogging of unrighteousness, but by virtue of some one or more excellent qualities, wherein he outstrips the very saints of God.

From him I learned many instances and exemplifications of that holy but heavy doom of our Saviour, *The things which are in high esteem with men are abomination in the sight of God*[b]: and that the common notions of the world touching good and evil are as distorted and monstrous, as if a man should define an humble meek man by cowardice, or a prudent Christian to be one that had conquered his conscience.

And I hold myself obliged further to profess, that I have not only reaped from this author's sown fields an harvest of

[b] Luke xvi. 15.

knowledge, but also some weighty sheaves of consolation. He hath so convincingly (above others) proved out of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms, (and the Jews also,) that our blessed Lord Jesus is the Christ, that my soul rests upon it as upon a basis immovable.

It will be consequent to what was last said, and seasonable here to tell the reader, that he will find in this author an eminent excellency in that part of divinity which I make bold to call Christology, in displaying the great mystery of godliness, God the Son of God manifested in human flesh. And this he never thinks well done, till he have laid the type or shadow of the Old Testament upon the substance in the New; until he have laid the prophecy (as Elisha laid his body upon the dead child) face to face and eyes to eyes upon the holy child Jesus. And his powerful dexterity in this kind hath purchased him so high an esteem amongst the learned (though much dissenting from him in opinion), that in their works they have quoted him, and commended him as an author.

This gives me the cue to turn my speech towards my reverend brethren of the church of England. I speak this only to the younger clergy, (it would be presumption to think upon the elder in this period,) and I speak it with all imaginable respect and tenderness. Those that have compassion on the multitude, that teach the people knowledge, and for their edification do seek out acceptable words in writings upright and true, that mean to tread the good old way for better instructing the poor of the flock, may find in this author's works matter proper for christenings, communions, funerals, fasts, for every dominical and festival in the year; but abundance of matter for those days, on which our church commemorates the great benefits received by the incarnation, birth, death, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ.

As for expounding the doctrinal and opening the more difficult places of holy scripture, this author seems to have a rare felicity therein above the professed commentators or expositors, whether protestants or papists. And often when he pretends but to take one verse as the centre of his discourse, he illuminates the reader in a great circumference of the

context. I shall say more, (he that will try, I hope, shall find my words true,) he that will carefully peruse this good author's works shall thereby have a goodly prospect of the Old and New Testaments opened unto him, shall mightily improve in the understanding of the holy Bible. And putting a case, that besides the holy Bible and fathers I should be confined to the use of one author (whom I would choose) and no more, I should make choice of this author's works. And I am further persuaded that were his works translated into Latin, the Christian world (of what division soever that keeps the foundation) would confess itself confirmed by him, and a debtor to him.

And now having this opinion rooted in my heart, I hope the reader will approve, at least pardon, if I pronounce this author the divine of his rank and age; and if in token of my private thankfulness for good received from him, I breathe out, first towards heaven, *Benedic anima mea Domino,* &c. (Psalm ciii.) and then towards men on earth tokens of good-will.

——— Qui te genuere beati,
Et mater felix, et fortunata profecto
Si qua tibi soror est, et, quæ dedit ubera, nutrix. Ovid. Met. IV. 322.

Happy were the parents that had such a son of understanding. Blessed was the womb that bore him, and the paps that gave him suck. Blessed was that *alma mater*, that had such a name writ in her *matricula,* (in whose blessing her other sister was blessed also,) and that *phrontisterion* which had him first a nursing son, and the other which had him afterward a nursing father of her children. Blessed were the places where these apostolical feet of beauty trod, when he went abroad *evangelizans pacem, evangelizans bona.* And blessed be the memory of that man, whose hand (like the hand in the margin) pointed out first unto me this author. His name is sweet, and his bones shall one day flourish out of their dust.

If others at the first view (nay, after some reviews) of this author, come not up to my rate or esteem of him, I have their excuse as ready in my pen, as mine own blame is fresh in my memory. For when a fatherly friend of mine (Mr. Ni. Ferrar of happy memory, thinking my younger years

had need of such an instructor) commended this author unto my reading; for some time after I wished he had lent me his understanding together with his books; yet with frequent reading I first began to like, at last I mastered and made mine own so much of him as enabled me to improve and impart his sense to others: I often took his matter, and preparing it to their capacity, preached it in popular auditories. I shame not to tell this, because I think it no *plagium*, I know my title to it was just by donation; the author intended it for this purpose; his very design being to afford helps to younger students, and to give the abler hints and provocations for searches into the less beaten but more profitable paths, the abstruser but richer veins of theology.

It is to be expected that two objections will *militare* against the labours of this great author, and either break the arms, (weaken the hands at least,) or dazzle if not darken the eyes of the industrious reader. The one is, that his style is obscure, the other, that his doctrine is Arminian. The second part of this preface will endeavour with humility and reason to answer them. And to the former of these, I say his style is full and deep, which makes the purity of it seem a kind of darkness; and though it abound in substantial adjectives, yet it is more short than other authors in relatives, in eking and helping particles, because he writ to scholars; his stream runs full, but always in its own channel and within the banks; if any will yet say it overflows, he must give me leave to tell him it then enriches the ground. His pen drops principles as frequently as ordinary men's do sense; his matter is rare, his notions uncouth parcels of truth digged *e profundo*, and so at first aspect look like strangers to the ordinary intellect, but with patience and usance will cease to be so; and the reader shall assuredly find this most certain token of true worth in him, that the more he is acquainted with him the better he shall like him. The probability of this proof I gather from one of those *responsa prudentum* which long since I read in Plutarch. A professed orator had made a speech for one, who upon the first reading went about the conning of it with much cheerfulness and contentment, but after that two or three days familiarity and repetition had begot in him a *fastidium*, he came to the orator and told him: "Sir, at the first or second

reading I liked this oration very well; but now I am quite of another mind; to say the truth, I loath it heartily." "Well," says the orator, "how oft mean you to speak this oration to the people? any more than once?" "No," said he, "but once only." "Go your way then; they will like it as well as you did at first time, I warrant you." But, reader, if thou wilt believe thirty or forty years' experience or versation of this author, thou wilt find at every return new matter both of observation and delight in him.

Now for the second objection.

1. It is a mere noise, the fancy of a prejudicate mind; the reader must in justice examine particulars before he pass his judgment; and then in wisdom not suffer himself to be deprived of a rich treasure upon poor pretences. It would fret a son of valour to find himself robbed by a weakling and a coward, that had first possessed his fancy that some visors (supported with stakes in the twilight) were stout fellows ready to come in, if he did not deliver his gold.

2. I may with modesty aver, that I know not one word in all his works that can possibly be so wrested by the dissenting as to give offence to the objector.

3. I find him throughout the whole body of his writings most religiously careful to give unto God the things that be God's, even the glory of his grace, his most gratuitous grace in Christ, preventing, exciting, furthering, and making to persevere in all works or courses of Christianity, and that so requisite and intrinsical to every holy action, that all our sufficiency is from it. By the grace of God we are what we are, and do what we do. And surely had the great goodness of the Lord been taught and tendered in such manner as this author sets it forth, this age had felt itself better thriven in Christianity and in the power of godliness than it now is. Sin had not so abounded, but grace had superabounded, and reigned through righteousness unto eternal life by Jesus Christ our Lord.

4. Nor can any man, think I, produce one passage that intimates, much less infers, any inordinate prelation of the strength of nature, he making the chief use of that poor remnant of free-will left in us sons of Adam, to consist, not in meriting or preparing, but in our not being so untoward

patients as we might possibly be, in not doing that evil which is in our power to do.

5. Nor will any man speak evil of him, but he that himself narrows the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and engrosses that plenteous ransom he paid for all the sons of Adam, to some small number of such as he conceits himself to be.

Finally, if the worst be given that this objection pretends to, the offence will be much assuaged, if the ordinary reader do but know that the Lutheran, i. e. a considerable part of the reformed church, is of that opinion, and that the other name is used mostly to inflame the *odium*.

In sum, this man of God knew he might not strive, nor multiply questions to gender strife; therefore he demands but two *postulata* of the dissenting man: 1. That God hath a true freedom in doing good; 2. That man hath a true freedom in doing evil. From him that agrees with him in these two, he will not dissent in other points. See his Epistle before the sixth book[c].

But from such as teach that all events are so irresistibly decreed by God, that none can fall out otherwise than they do, or that nothing can be amended that is amiss, he justly differs. For besides that the tenets be Turkish[d], being pressed they yield a morbid bitter juice, and put out a forked sting. Their necessary consequent being, that either there is no moral evil under the sun, or that the Fountain of goodness (who is *ultor et intentator malorum*) his will is the cause of such evil.

The expectation of the reader quickens me to give over the commendation of the whole, and to render him an account of the parts, how they be now disposed in this new edition. And to satisfy that, I willingly now address myself.

This great author, having framed to himself an idea of that complete body of divinity, which he intended for his own more regular proceeding and the reader's better understanding, did direct all his lines in the whole periphery of his studies unto the heads contained in the Creed, as unto their proper centre.

He published in his lifetime nine books of Comments upon

[c] Of this edition, vol. v. p. 4. [d] See Busbequius, Epist. 4.

the Creed, and part of a twelfth; besides twelve sermons or treatises relating to two of the nine books aforesaid.

There were published in the year 1654 and 1657, (that was nigh twenty years after their author's death,) the tenth and eleventh books of Comments upon the Creed. For which two excellent books, as also for what additions are *de novo* made to the former in this new edition, the church is indebted to the most reverend father in God, Gilbert, by Divine Providence, lord archbishop of Canterbury, &c. (who procured the papers from the reverend Doctor Newlin, successor and executor to the author, and the careful preserver of his manuscripts,) besides what she owes his Grace for his indefatigable vigilancy and care of her welfare.

These twelve books, and the twelve treatises or sermons, are in this present edition disposed into three tomes.

In the first tome are contained five books: viz. The

I. Of the eternal truth of scripture.

II. How necessary the ministry of man is for planting of faith.

III. Blasphemous positions of Jesuits, &c. about the church's authority.

IV. Of justifying faith: or that faith by which the just doth live.

V. Of the originals of unbelief, misbelief, mispersuasions, &c.

In the second tome be contained the four next books: viz. The

VI. Of the Divine essence and attributes. To which are annexed nine of the twelve sermons or treatises, (mentioned above, four of which make up that treatise which the author intituled, About the Signs of the Times,) as relating to the discourses about God's providence contained in that book: which nine are now reckoned with and as parts of that sixth book.

VII. Of the knowledge of Christ: before which be placed as introductions, two sermons, (Bethlehem and Nazareth, the woman a true help to man,) and Christ's answer to St. John's disciples, the remaining three of the twelve: as also two sermons, one, about the wise men of the East; the other, Rachel's tears, never printed before. All which constitute the seventh book.

VIII. The humiliation of the Son of God.

IX. Of the consecration of the Son of God to his everlasting priesthood.

In the third tome be contained three books: viz. The

X. Which treateth of many useful and weighty subjects. Of original righteousness in Adam. How sin found entrance into the world. Of original sin. Of man's servitude to sin. Of freedom of will. Of mortification. It contains also a grave answer to Mr. Burton's exception. A paraphrase upon the eleven first chapters of Exodus. Christ's exercising his everlasting priesthood: and divers other matters, very considerable.

XI. Which treats of Christ's exaltation, and session at God's right hand. His being made Lord and Christ. His coming with power to judge the quick and the dead; to raise the bodies of the dead; to award life and death everlasting *secundum opera:* where the question about merit is well handled. To which are annexed about twenty sermons, one of which (placed before the sermons of blood) upon Genesis xlii. 21. was never printed before.

XII. Contains a treatise of the holy catholic church. To which is annexed, A treatise of Christian obedience, never printed before, which is conceived to be a part of the second book of that treatise.

I have always sufficient reason to suspect the weakness of my judgment: and I do here very seriously reflect upon the feebleness of my memory, which hath sometimes been so nullified) but for a very little moment, I bless God) by the sudden ingruence of a lethargy or apoplexy, that I could not remember the name of any one in my parish, where I have been vicar forty years. And therefore beforehand, begging pardon if I fail, I tell the reader, that I do now intend, and deliberate to recollect, and here set down all such particulars as may any way contribute to the benefit or content of the reader to the credit or caution of the *stationer.* I insert this latter term, because the very last time I did the office of a prefacer for one, (as I am now doing for three,) my imperfect shallow sense—by the printer's leaving out the first letter and word, and somewhere divers words—was turned into perfect nonsense: so that one who blamed me as censorious for an hard word in

that preface not put in by me, was very candid that he did not blame me as senseless, for more words left out by the printer.

The first particular I think of (consequent to what is said before concerning the ordering of the books in their several tomes) is, to shew to which article of the Creed (respectively) these books of Comments upon the Creed do relate.

I should wholly wave this labour, (because useless to the learned,) but that I know some that love and read this author who are no great scholars. Now these may be willing to know, that the first five books relate only to the first article, or first part of the article, "I believe in God:" the five being chiefly if not wholly spent in declaring what belief is, what motives we have to believe holy scripture, what helps be needful for plantation of faith, what errors be negatively, privatively, or positively opposite to faith; with their originals.

The sixth book, (with the nine appendices,) treating of God's essence and attributes; very largely of his infinite power and providence visible in the creation and government of the world, relate to that part of the article wherein we profess our faith "in God the Father Almighty, Maker of "heaven and earth."

All the five sermons or treatises placed tome ii. fol. 401 *. being figured and counted with the seventh book, as parts of it, because introductive to it: the seventh book itself, the whole eighth and ninth, the latter part of the tenth, and the former part of the elventh books, relate to the articles concerning our blessed Saviour, from his conception to his coming to judgment, inclusive.

How this learned author proves, by reason, that the resurrection of the body is possible; how he confirms a Christian's faith, that it is future, and shall be, see tome iii. fol. 421, &c †.

He that would taste the joys or see a glimpse of the glory in life everlasting, let him read tome iii. fol. 498, &c ‡.

He that would see the dreadful torments of death eternal, may without danger take a view of them (tom. iii. fol. 448 §, &c.); and seeing so fear them, that (by God's grace) he never come to feel them.

* Of this edition, vol. vi. p. 195.
† Vol. x. p. 234, &c.
‡ Vol. x. p. 394, &c.
§ Vol. x. p. 291, &c.

The twelfth book hath (in the former part of it) a most rational and solid discourse of the holy catholic church.

It is meet here to let the reader know, (that he may serve himself of what he finds dispersed upon those heads,) that this author's comments upon the other three articles, as also his devotions, his soliloquies or meditations upon the "holy, blessed, and undivided Trinity," are not found; which loss I do most heartily lament. And my sorrow for his lost book of Prodigies is not turned into joy, but rather returned upon me, by what I have seen written, either *pro* or *con*, upon that subject; either by the excessive collection of particulars accounted prodigies, or by that very learned tract, in part occasioned by that collection. Our great author would have been an excellent answerer or moderator in those disputes. Surely there is a right use of real prodigies, and of all the tragical acts and accidents which have been since those books were written. And that is, not to stir up men to censure or disturb states, but to serious repentance, to more constant and fervent prayers for the peace and prosperity of prince and people, of church and state. And he that makes not such use of them adds one to the number of them.

Another particular, not needless to be known, is this. The author's works at first were printed by piecemeal, as they came off hand, some at Oxford, some at London, some fifty-seven, some forty-seven, others thirty-seven years ago. The fourth book "Of justifying faith," was twice printed in quarto; once in the year 1615, a second time (divers years after) with some small variation in obedience to the king, who prohibited divines to meddle with quinquarticular controversies: this last edition is made according to the first impression of that fourth book, as being conceived to be the better.

The nine sermons printed and placed all together, (tom. ii. fol. 287. &c*.) which upon the first folio bear this title, "Divers "Sermons, with a short Treatise befitting these present Times;" and afterward fol. 349, 351†. have this title set before the four latter sermons, "A Treatise concerning the Signs of the Times, "or God's Forewarnings:" these, making (in their titles) mention of *time* and *times*, may make an inquisitive reader

* Vol. vi. p. 1, &c. † Ibid. p. 110.

desirous to know the time when these sermons were preached; and that was, as I suppose, about the year of our Lord 1635. My conjecture is grounded upon these three particulars:

1. All the nine were printed at Oxford in the year 1637.

2. Some of them were preached at Newcastle, some before the king; which may seem to imply some distance of time.

3. The great visitation by wind, which did so affect (I should say astonish) our great author, happened upon the fourth of November 1636, not long before those troubles in Scotland began, which brought on that parliament which begun November 3, 1640.

It is meet the Christian reader be secured, that this great author hath not been injured by perverting his sense. And what better argument than this can be given—that no alteration hath been made where the matter seemed to require a correction? For example: in the Epistle to the Reader, tome i. line 14*, there the word *conscience* looks as if it would be changed into *conscious*, or to be construed for *guilt*. So tome i. fol. 13. line 25†, *And yet* . . . after these two words conjecture would insert two more to complete the sense, viz. *they persecuted*. But the temptations of these probabilities did not prevail to make the addition to the one, or the alteration in the other. The reader may perhaps of himself find one or two such passages in the second tome, fol. 7 and 9‡, which yet were not tampered with.

This tenderness of doing the author wrong hath begot a care of doing all those persons right who had any interest in his writings. Those to whom the author did dedicate his books were either right honourable patrons, right reverend fathers, or right religious sons of the church. Whilst they were living, he honoured their persons, and that every pious reader may have remembrancers to honour the memories of them dead, all the Epistles dedicatory prefixed to the several books are printed in this edition—And who will deny such honour unto the saints?

I challenge Invention herself to contrive a memorial equal to the merit of that noble person, who was God's instrument to divert our author (my pen had a mind to write *convert*) from being a merchant, to become a divine: this was the

* Vol. i. p. lvii. line 15. † Ibid. p. 23. line 4. ‡ Vol. v. pp. 16 and 20.

right honourable Ralph lord Eure, baron of Malton, &c. To this discerning noble lord did the author (in such exact decorum as he always kept) dedicate the first fruits of his printed labours, having before consecrated them and all the other unto God. I never knew this noble lord, nor any of his posterity; yet can I not forbear to say—Blessed be his memory! and wherever the writings of our author are read, let this which he hath done be reported of him!

The next advertisement is about the titles or briefs upon the tops, and the figures at references on the sides of the leaves: both which (as I suppose) were the work of the corrector. There is now and then a mistake in a title; and if there be any in the figures, in regard the quarto pages were changed into folios, and the folios in the new and old are not of the same content, the reader knows on whom to bestow his pardon.

I cannot call to mind (though I have summoned all my faculties) any thing worthy to stay the Christian reader any longer at the door of this goodly edifice; unless he will be content to hear a short relation how this great author's works come to be printed in this manner. And I the rather tell it, because it was a thing which I had heretofore attempted, but without effect, (and so had another pious gentleman to his cost, which was all lost,) and because it is now effected by God's moving the hearts of three stationers voluntarily to undertake the thing: and truly they deserve very hearty commendation, not only for expiating the presses from those sinful abuses which this author lays to their charge, (tom. ii. fol. 331. and tom. iii. fol. 711*.) by printing an author so full of all excellent learning, good morality, and true divinity, and by designing to do it so well, but also for vanquishing all the difficulties which stood in the way to hinder the design; which were more than any mere spectator can imagine, unless experienced in like affairs.

The right of the printed copies (which the stationer takes as his own freehold) was dispersed in five or six several hands, so that it cost them a considerable deal of pains and sum of money to get a propriety to themselves. And this inclines me the more to excuse their sending abroad papers for subscrip-

* See vol. vi. p. 76. and vol. xi. p. 216.

tions, and inserting my name; both without my consent; who looked upon the former as no great credit to the author, and the latter as crediting me with an employment which I did not discharge.

For I here acknowledge that my service to the public consists only in assisting the stationers with direction how to order the books; in preparing the manuscripts not before printed, in making an index, collecting the *errata*, and picking this preface (with some small addition and alteration) out of three composed before; which poor Gibeonitish (yet divine) drudgery I shall think highly rewarded, if it prove acceptable to those that most freely committed the manuscripts to my hands: and I hope it will the rather be accepted, because I transmitted all the manuscripts (that be printed) to the stationer, as freely as I received them from the gracious donor.

But if my poor labour be serviceable to the church of England, and by divine acceptation become imputable to mine account, I shall most humbly acknowledge it for a reward of His infinite bounty, who amongst other blessings undeserved hath let me live to see this work done, *before I go hence and be no more seen.*

The reader's
Most humble servant in Christ,
B. OLEY.

THE LIFE AND DEATH

OF

THE REVEREND, LEARNED, AND PIOUS

DR. JACKSON,

DEAN OF PETERBOROUGH, AND PRESIDENT OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE IN OXFORD.

Written by a late Fellow of the same College.

BEING earnestly desired by an intimate and powerful friend to deliver some character of that reverend and learned Dr. Jackson, (late president of our College,) I might very well excuse myself, from my unworthiness to undertake so weighty a task. I must seriously confess, it was not so much the importunity of that friend which prevailed with me, as the merit of the man which extorted it, and made me resolve rather to run any hazard of my own reputation, than not to pay the honours due to his memory. The respect and interest which he gained in the hearts of all men that he conversed with, (and most from them that knew him best,) was too great to be buried in his grave, or to be extinct with his person. A good name is compared to a rich and pleasant odour, which not only affects the sense, whilst he that wears it is in presence, but fills the house, and makes you inquire who had been there, although the party be gone out of the room. For his birth, he was descended from a very worthy family in the bishopric of Durham. His life seemed to be consecrated to virtue and the liberal arts from his very childhood: he had a natural propensity to learning, from which no other recreation or employment could divert him. He was first designed (by his parents) to be a merchant in Newcastle

where many of his near friends and alliance lived in great wealth and prosperity; but neither could that temptation lay hold upon him.

Therefore (at the instance of a noble lord) he was sent to the university of Oxford; for which highly esteemed favour he returns his solemn thanks, in the very first words and entrance of this book. He was first planted in Queen's College, under the care and tuition of the profound Dr. Crakanthorp, and from thence removed to Corpus Christi College; where although he had no notice of the vacancy of the place till the day before the election, yet he answered with so much readiness and applause, that he gained the admiration as well as the suffrages of the electors, and was chosen with full consent, although they had received letters of favour from great men for another scholar. A sure and honourable argument of the incorruptedness of that place, when the peremptory mandamus of the pious founder, *nec prece, nec pretio*, (presented with the merits of a young man and a stranger,) shall prevail more than all other solicitations and partialities whatsoever. This relation hath been often assured unto me from one of the electors (yet living), Mr. John Hore of West-Hendred, a man of reverend years and goodness. There was now a welcome necessity laid upon him to preserve the high opinion which was conceived of him, which he did in a studious and exemplary life, not subject to the usual intemperances of that age. Certainly the devil could not find him idle, nor at leisure to have the suggestions of vice whispered into his ear. And although many in their youthful times have their deviations and exorbitancies, which afterwards prove reformed and excellent men; yet it pleased God to keep him in a constant path of virtue and piety.

He had not been long admitted into this place, but that he was made more precious, and better estimated by all that knew him, by the very danger that they were in suddenly to have parted with him; for walking out with others of the younger company to wash himself, he was in imminent peril of being drowned—"The depth closed him round about, the weeds were wrapped about his head. He went down to the bottom of the mountains: the earth with her bars was about him for ever"—yet God brought his soul from corruption, Jonah ii. 5, 6, that (like Moses from the flags) for the future

good of the church and government of the college where he lived, there might be preserved the meekest man alive, or (like Jonas) there might be a prophet revived (as afterwards he proved) to forewarn the people of ensuing destruction, if peradventure they might repent, and God might revoke the judgments pronounced against them, and spare this great and sinful nation. It was a long (and almost incredible) space of time wherein he lay under water, and before a boat could be procured, which was sent for, rather to take out his body (before it floated) for a decent funeral, than out of hopes of recovery of life. The boatman discerning where he was by the bubbling of the water, (the last signs of a man expiring,) thrust down his hook at that very moment, which by happy providence (at the first essay) lighted under his arm, and brought him up into the boat. All the parts of his body were swollen to a vast proportion, and although by holding his head downward they let forth much water, yet no hopes of life appeared, therefore they brought him to the land, and lapped him up in the gowns of his fellow students, the best shroud that love or necessity could provide. After some warmth and former means renewed, they perceived that life was yet within him, conveyed him to the college, and commended him to the skill of Dr. Channel, an eminent physician of the same house, where with much care, time, and difficulty, he recovered, to the equal joy and wonder of the whole society. All men concluded him to be reserved for high and admirable purposes. His grateful acknowledgments towards the fisherman and his servants that took him up knew no limits, being a constant revenue to them whilst he lived. For his thankfulness to Almighty God, no heart could conceive nor tongue express it but his own, often commemorating the miracle of divine mercy in his deliverance, and resolving hereafter not to live to himself, but to God that raiseth the dead. Neither did he serve God with that which cost him nothing; I must rank his abundant charity and riches of his liberality amongst the virtues of his first years, as if he would strive with his friends, patron and benefactors, *utrum illi largiendo, an ipse dispergendo vinceret*, whether they should be more bountiful in giving, or he in dispersing; or that he was resolved to pay the ransom of his life into God's exchequer, which is the

bodies of the poor. His heart was so free and enlarged in this kind, that very often his almsdeed made him more rich that received it than it left him that gave it. His progress in the study of divinity was something early, because (as he well considered) the journey that he intended was very far, yet not without large and good provisions for the way. No man made better use of human knowledge in subservience to the eternal truths of God, produced more testimonies of heathens to convert themselves, and make them submit the rich presents of their wise men to the cradle and cross of Christ. He was furnished with all the learned languages, arts and sciences, as the previous dispositions or beautiful gate which led him into the temple; but especially metaphysics, as the next in attendance, and most necessary handmaid to divinity, which was the mistress where all his thoughts were fixed, being wholly taken up with the love and admiration of Jesus Christ and him crucified. The reading to younger scholars, and some employments imposed by the founder, were rather recreations and assistances than diversions from that intended work. The offices which he undertook (out of duty, not desire) were never the most profitable, but the more ingenuous; not such as might fill his purse, but increase his knowledge. It was no small accession of respect unto him, (or rather a consequent of the good repute which he had already gained,) that those two noble hostages, Mr. Edward and Mr. Richard Spencers, sons to the right honourable Robert lord Spencer, baron of Wormleighton, were commended to his charge, whom he restored fully instructed with all good literature, the glory of learned and religious nobility, and the very ornaments of the country where they lived; for which faithful discharge of his great trust he (and his memory) were ever in singular veneration with that whole family and their alliances. His discourse was very facetious (without offence) when time and place and equality of persons permitted it. He was *entregens*, (as our neighbours speak it,) a man (upon occasions offered) of universal conversation. When he was chosen into office, the governor of the college was wont to give this testimony of him, That he was a man most sincere in elections, and that in a dubious victory of younger wits, it was the safest experiment for an happy choice, to follow the omen of his judgment. He read a lec-

ture of divinity in the college every Sunday morning, and another day of the week at Pembroke College, (then newly erected,) by the instance of the master and fellows there. He was chosen vice-president for many years together, who by his place was to moderate the disputations in divinity. In all these he demeaned himself with great depth of learning, far from that knowledge which puffeth up, but accompanied with all gentleness, courtesy, humility, and moderation. From the college, he was preferred to a living in the bishopric of Durham (in their donation), and from thence (with consent from the same college obtained, where no request could be denied him) removed to the vicarage of Newcastle, a very populous town, furnished with multitudes of men, and no small variety of opinions. It was a difficult task (and only worthy of so pious an undertaker) so to *become all things to all men, that by all means he might gain some:* 1 Cor. ix. 22. This was the place where he was first appointed by his friends to be a merchant; but he chose rather to be a factor for heaven. One precious soul refined, polished, and fitted for his Master's use, presented by him, was of more value to him than all other purchases whatsoever. He adorned the doctrine of the gospel (which he preached and professed) with a suitable life and conversation; manifesting the signs of a true apostle; in all things shewing himself *a pattern of good works, in doctrine, incorruptness, gravity, sincerity, sound speech, that cannot be condemned; that they which were of the contrary part might be ashamed, having no evil thing to say of him.* Tit. ii. 7, 8.

I lately received letters from a gentleman, who lived there at the same time with him, who gave this testimony of him:— He was a man very studious, humble, courteous and charitable. At Newcastle, (when he went out,) what money he had, he usually gave to the poor, who at length flocked so unto him, that his servant took care that he had not too much in his pocket. At a certain time Dr. Henderson, the town's physician, his neighbour and intimate acquaintance, (having made a purchase,) sitting sad by him, and fetching a sigh, he demanded what was the reason. He said that he had a payment to make, and wanted money. Dr. Jackson bade him be of good cheer, for he would furnish him; and calling for his servant, told him the physician's need, and asked what

money he had. The man stepping back silent, the doctor bids him speak. At length the man said, Forty shillings. He bade him fetch it; for Mr. Henderson should have it all: at which Mr. Henderson turned his sadness into laughter. Dr. Jackson demanded his reason: he said, that he had need of four hundred pound or five hundred pound. Dr. Jackson answered, that he thought forty shillings was a great sum, and that he should have it, and more also if he had it. Thus, in a place of busy trade and commerce, his mind was intent upon better things, willing to spend and to be spent for them, not seeking theirs but them. After some years of his continuance in this town, he was invited back again to the university by the death of the President of the same college, being chosen in his absence at so great a distance, so unexpectedly, without any suit or petition upon his part, that he knew nothing of the vacancy of the place, but by the same letters that informed him that it was conferred upon himself. A preferment of so good account, that it hath been much desired and eagerly sought after by many eminent men, but never before went so far to be accepted of. Upon his return to Oxford, and admission to his government, they found no alteration by his long absence and more converse with the world, but that he appeared yet more humble in his elder times; and this not out of coldness and remission of spirit, but from a prudent choice and experience of a better way; not without the great example of Paul the aged, who when he had authority to command that which is convenient, (yet for love's sake,) chose rather to beseech. He ruled in a most obliging manner the fellows, scholars, servants, tenants, *nemo ab eo tristis discessit*, no man departed from him with a sad heart, excepting in this particular, that by some misdemeanor or willing error they had created trouble or given any offence unto him. He used the friends as well as the memory of his predecessors fairly. He was *præsidens pacificus*, a lover and maker of peace. He silenced and composed all differences, displeasures, and animosities by a prudent impartiality, and the example of his own sweet disposition. All men taking notice that nothing was more hateful unto him than hatred itself, nothing more offensive to his body and mind; it was a shame and cruelty (as well as presumption)

to afflict his peaceable spirit. It is a new and peculiar art of discipline, but successfully practised by him, that those under his authority were kept within bounds and order, not so much out of fear of the penalty, as out of love to the governor. He took notice of that which was good in the worst men, and made that an occasion to commend them for the good's sake; and living himself *tanquam nemini ignosceret*, as if he were so severe that he could forgive no man, yet he reserved large pardons for the imperfections of others. His nature was wholly composed of the properties of charity itself. *Charity suffereth long, and is kind*, &c., *beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.* I can truly avouch this testimony concerning him, that living in the same college with him more than twenty years, (partly when he was Fellow, and partly when he returned President,) I never heard (to my best remembrance) one word of anger or dislike against him. I have often resembled him in my thoughts (with favour of that honourable person be it spoken) to him (whose name sounds very near him[d]) who being placed in the upper part of the world, carried on his dignity with that justice, modesty, integrity, fidelity, and other gracious plausibilities, that in a place of trust he contented those whom he could not satisfy, and in a place of envy procured the love of them who emulated his greatness, and by his example shewed the preeminence and security of true Christian wisdom before all the sleights of human policy, that in a busy time no man was found to accuse him; so this good man (in that inferior orb which God had placed him) demeaned himself with that Christian innocency, candour, wisdom and modesty, that malice itself was more wary than to cast any aspersions upon him. I shall willingly associate him to those other worthies his predecessors in the same college, (all living at the same time.) To the invaluable bishop Jewel, *Theologorum quos orbis Christianus per aliquot annorum centenarios produxit maximo*, as grave bishop Goodwin hath described him, the greatest divine that for some former centuries of years the Christian world hath produced. To the famous Mr. Hooker, who for his solid writings was surnamed The Judicious, and entitled by the same, *Theologorum Oxonium*, the Oxford of divines, as one calls Athens, The Greece of Greece itself. To

[d] Dr. Juxon.

the learned Dr. Reynolds, who managed the government of the same college with the like care, honour, and integrity, although not with the same austerities.

He willingly admitted (and was much delighted in) the acquaintance and familiarity of hopeful young divines, not despising their youth, but accounting them as sons and brethren, encouraging and advising them what books to read, and with what holy preparations, lending them such books as they had need of, and hoping withal that (considering the brevity of his own life) some of them might live to finish that work upon the Creed which he had happily begun unto them. This was one of the special advices and directions which he commended to young men: "Hear the dictates of your own conscience;" *quod dubitas ne feceris*, making this the comment upon that of Siracides, "In all thy matters trust (or believe) thine own soul, and bear it not down by impetuous and contradictious lusts," &c. He was as diffusive of his knowledge, counsel, and advice, as of any other his works of mercy.

In all the histories of learned, pious, and devout men, you shall scarcely meet with one that disdained the world more generously: not out of ignorance of it, as one brought up in cells and darkness; for he was known and endeared to men of the most resplendent fortunes: nor out of melancholy disposition; for he was cheerful and content in all estates; but out of a due and deliberate scorn, knowing the true value, that is, the vanity of it. As preferments were heaped upon him without his suit or knowledge, so there was nothing in his power to give, which he was not ready and willing to part withal to the deserving or indigent man. His vicarage of St. Nicholas' church in Newcastle he gave to Mr. Alvye of Trinity College, upon no other relation but out of the good opinion which he conceived of his merits. The vicarage of Witney near Oxford, after he had been at much pains, travel, and expense to clear the title of the rectory to all succeeding ministers, when he had made it a portion fitting either to give or keep, he freely bestowed it upon the worthy Mr. Thomas White, then proctor of the university, late chaplain to the college, and now incumbent upon the rectory. A college lease of a place called Lye in Gloucestershire, presented to him as a gratuity by the fellows, he made over to a third, (late fellow

there,) merely upon a plea of poverty. And whereas they that first offered it unto him were unwilling that he should relinquish it, and held out for a long time in a dutiful opposition, he used all his power, friendship, and importunity with them, till at length he prevailed to surrender it. Many of his necessary friends and attendance have professed, that they made several journeys, and employed all powerful mediation with the bishop, that he might not be suffered to resign his prebendship of Winchester to a fourth; and upon knowledge that by their contrivance he was disappointed of his resolution herein, he was much offended that the *manus mortua*, or law of mortmain, should be imposed upon him, whereby in former days they restrained the liberality of devout men toward the colleges and the clergy. But this was interpreted as a discourtesy and disservice unto him, who knew that it was *a more blessed thing to give than to receive*. But that which remained unto him was dispersed unto the poor, to whom he was a faithful dispenser in all places of his abode, distributing unto them with a free heart, a bountiful hand, a comfortable speech, and a cheerful eye. How disrespectful was he of mammon, the god of this world, the golden image which kings and potentates have set up! before whom the trumpets play for war and slaughter, and nations and languages fall down and worship, besides all other kind of music for jollity and delight, to drown (if it were possible) the noise of blood, which is most audible, and cries loudest in the ears of the Almighty. How easily could he cast that away for which others throw away their lives and salvation, running headlong into the place of eternal shriekings, weeping, and gnashing of teeth! If it were not for this spirit of covetousness, all the world would be at quiet. Certainly (although the nature of man be an apt soil for sin to flourish in, yet) if the love of money be the root of all evil, it could not grow up in him, because in him it had no root; and if it be so hard for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God and the narrow gate which leads unto life, then he that stooped so low by humbleness of mind, and emptied himself so nearly by mercifulness unto the poor, must needs find an easier passage; doubtless they that say and do these things shew plainly that they seek another country, that is, an heavenly; for if they

had been mindful of this, they might have taken opportunity to have used it more advantageously.

His devotions towards God were assiduous and exemplary, both in public and private. He was a diligent frequenter of the public service in the chapel very early in the morning, and at evening, except some urgent occasions of infirmity did excuse him. His private conferences with God by prayer and meditation were never omitted upon any occasion whatsoever. When he went the yearly progress to view the college-lands, and came into the tenant's house, it was his constant custom (before any other business, discourse, or care of himself, were he never so wet or weary) to call for a retiring room to pour out his soul unto God, who led him safely in his journey. And this he did not out of any specious pretence of holiness, to devour a widow's house with more facility, rack their rents, or enhance their fines. For excepting the constant revenue to the founder, (to whom he was a strict accomptant,) no man ever did more for them or less for himself. For thirty years together he used this following anthem and collect (commanded by the pious founder) in honour and confession of the holy and undivided Trinity: *Salva nos, libera nos, vivifica nos, O beata Trinitas*, &c. "Save us, deliver us, quicken us, O blessed Trinity. Let us praise God the Father, and the Son, with the Holy Spirit, let us praise and superexalt his name for ever." "Almighty and everlasting God, which hast given unto us thy servants grace, by the confession of a true faith to acknowledge the glory of the eternal Trinity, and in the power of the Divine Majesty to worship the Unity; we beseech thee that through the steadfastness of this faith, we may evermore be defended from all adversity, which livest and reignest," &c.

This he did perform, not only as a sacred injunction of the founder (upon him and all the society), but he received a great delight in the performance of it. No man ever wrote more highly of the attributes of God than he, and yet he professes that he always took more comfort in admiring than in disputing; and in praying to and acknowledging the majesty and glory of the blessed Trinity, than by too curiously prying into the mystery. He composed a book of private devotions, which some judicious men (having perused the

same) much extolled and admired, as being replenished with holy raptures and divine meditations, which is not now to be found.

Thus have many other famous scholars and polemical men (in their elder times) betaken themselves to catechising and devotion; as Pareus, bishop Andrews, bishop Usher. And Bellarmine himself seems to prefer his book *De Ascensione Mentis ad Deum*, "Of the Ascension of the Soul to God," before any other part of his works. "Books," says he, "are not to be estimated *ex multitudine foliorum, sed ex fructibus*, by the multitude of the leaves, but the fruit. My other books I read only upon necessity, but this I have willingly read over three or four times, and resolve to read it more often; whether it be," says he, "that the love towards it be greater than the merit, because (like another Benjamin) it was the son of mine old age," &c.

He seemed to be very prophetical of the ensuing times of trouble, as may evidently appear by his sermons before the king, and appendix about the signs of the times, or divine forewarnings, therewith printed some years before, touching the great tempest of wind which fell out upon the eve of the fifth of November, 1636. He was much astonished at it; and what apprehension he had of it appears by his words: "This mighty wind was more than a sign of the time, the very time itself was a sign, and portends thus much; that though we of this kingdom were in firm league with all nations, yet it is still in God's power, we may fear in his purpose, to plague this kingdom by this or the like tempests more grievously than he hath done at any time by famine, sword, or pestilence; to bury many living souls, as well of superiors as of inferior rank, in the ruin of their stately houses or meaner cottages," &c.; as you may read in more words in the second tome of these his works, now printed a newin folio, fol. 394*. This was observed by many, but signally by the prefacer to Mr. Herbert's Remains. I shall not prevent the reader, or detain him so long from the original of that book, as to repeat the elogies which are there conferred upon him: I cannot forbear one passage in that preface, wherein he makes this profession: "I speak it in the presence of God, I have not

* Vol. vi. p. 187.

read so hearty, vigorous a champion against Rome (amongst our writers of his rank) so convincing and demonstrative as Dr. Jackson is. I bless God for the confirmation which he hath given me in the Christian religion against the Atheist, Jew, and Socinian, and in the Protestant against Rome."

As he was always a reconciler of differences in his private government, so he seriously lamented the public breaches of the kingdom. For the divisions of Reuben he had great thoughts of heart. At the first entrance of the Scots into England, he had much compassion for his countrymen, although that were but the beginning of their sorrows. He well knew that war was commonly attended with ruin and calamity, especially to church and churchmen; and therefore that prayer was necessary and becoming of them: *Da pacem Domine in diebus nostris, &c.* "Give peace in our time, O Lord, because there is no other that fighteth for us, but only Thou, O God." One drop of Christian blood (though never so cheaply spilt by others, like water upon the ground) was a deep corrosive to his tender heart. Like Rachel weeping for her children, he could not be comforted. His body grew weak, the cheerful hue of his countenance was impaled and discoloured, and he walked like a dying mourner in the streets. But God took him from the evil to come; it was a sufficient degree of punishment for him to foresee it; it had been more than a thousand deaths unto him to have beheld it with his eyes. When his death was now approaching, being in the chamber with many others, I overheard him with a soft voice repeating to himself these and the like ejaculations: *I wait for the Lord, my soul doth wait, and in his word do I hope; my soul waiteth for the Lord, more than they that watch for the morning. As for me, I will behold thy face in righteousness, I shall be satisfied when I awake with thy likeness.* And he ended with this cygnean cantion, Psal. cxvi. 5, *Gracious is the Lord and righteous, yea our God is merciful. The Lord preserveth the simple: I was brought low, and he helped me. Return unto thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee.* And having thus spoken, soon after he surrendered up his spirit to Him that gave it.

If you shall curiously inquire what this charitable man left in legacy at his death; I must needs answer, that giving all in

his lifetime, as he owed nothing but love, so he left nothing when he died. The poor was his heir, and he was the administrator of his own goods, or (to use his own expression in one of his last dedications,) he had little else to leave his executors but his papers only, which the bishop of Armagh (being at his funerals) much desired might be carefully preserved. This was that which he left to posterity *in pios usus*, for the furtherance of piety and godliness, *in perpetuam eleemosynam*, for a perpetual deed of charity, which I hope the reader will advance to the utmost improvement. He that reads this will find his learning christening him the divine, and his life witnessing him a man of God, a preacher of righteousness, and I might add, a prophet of things to come. They that read those qualifications which he in his second and third book requires in them which hope to understand the scriptures aright, and see how great an insight he had into them, and how many hid mysteries he hath unfolded to this age, will say his life was good, superlatively good. The reader may easily perceive that he had no design in his opinions; no hopes but that blessed one proposed in the beginning, that no preferment, nor desire of wealth, nor affectation of popularity, should ever draw him from writing upon this subject; for which no man so fit as he, because (to use his own divine and high apophthegm), No man could properly write of justifying faith, but he that was equally affected to death and honour.

Thus have I presented you with a memorial of that excellent man, but with infinite disadvantage from the unskilfulness of the relater, and some likewise from the very disposition of the party himself. The humble man conceals his perfections with as much pains as the proud covers his defects, and avoids observation as industriously as the ambitious provoke it. He that would draw a face to the life commands the party to sit down in the chair in a constant and unremoved posture, and a countenance composed, that he may have the full view of every line, colour, and dimension; whereas he that will not yield to these ceremonies must be surprised at unawares by artificial stealth, and unsuspected glances, like the divine who was drawn at distance from the pulpit, or an ancient man in our days, whose statue being to be erected, the

artificer that carved it was enforced to take him sleeping. That which I have here designed (next to the glory of God, which is to be praised in all his saints) is the benefit of the Christian reader, that he may learn by his example as well as by his writings, by his life as well as by his works. Which is the earnest desire of him, who unfeignedly wishes the health and salvation of your souls.

E. VAUGHAN.

THE

ETERNAL TRUTH OF SCRIPTURES,

AND

CHRISTIAN BELIEF,

THEREON WHOLLY DEPENDING; MANIFESTED BY ITS OWN LIGHT.

DELIVERED IN TWO BOOKS OF COMMENTARIES UPON THE APOSTLES' CREED.

The former containing the positive Grounds of Christian Religion in general, cleared from all Exceptions of Atheists or Infidels; the latter manifesting the Grounds of Reformed Religion to be so firm and sure, that the Romanists cannot oppugn them but with the utter overthrow of the Romish Church, Religion, and Faith.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

RALPH, LORD EURE,

Baron of Malton and Witton, Lord President of his Majesty's Court established in the Principality and Marches of Wales.

My singular good Lord.

Right Honourable,

THOUGH few others would, I trust your lordship will, vouchsafe countenance to these Commentaries, rude and imperfect I must confess, but whose untimely or too hasty birth (if so it prove and must be censured) hath not been caused by any inordinate appetite, but only from a longing desire of testifying that love and duty which I owe unto your honourable family and person, as in many other respects, so chiefly in this;—that being engaged unto a more gainful, but not so good a course of life, and well nigh rooted in another soil, I was by your lordship's favourable advice and countenance transplanted to this famous nursery of good learning. Wherein (by His blessing who only gives increase to what his servants plant or water) I have grown to such a degree of maturity, as these raw meditations argue, or so wild a graft was capable of. Coarse and unpleasant my fruit may prove, but whiles it shall please the Lord to continue his wonted blessings of health and other opportunities, altogether unfruitful by his assistance I will not, altogether idle I cannot be. Such as these first fruits are, (much better I dare not promise,) the whole after-crop, I trust, shall be; both for the sincerity of my intention, acceptable (I doubt not) to my God; the latter, I hope, more ripe in the judgment of men, than can in reason be expected the first fruits of the same man's labours should be. Thus humbly beseeching your honour to accept these as they are, and to esteem of

them (howsoever otherwise) as an undoubted pledge of a mind endeavouring to shew itself thankful for benefits already received; and much desiring the continuance of your honourable favours; I continue my prayers to the Almighty that he would multiply his best favours and blessings upon you.

Your lordship's

much devoted chaplain,

THOMAS JACKSON.

Corpus Christi College in Oxford, October 5.

TO THE

CHRISTIAN READER.

IGNORANT altogether I am not of the disposition, though not much acquainted with the practices of this present age: wherein to have meditated upon so many several matters as I here present unto thy Christian view, will unto some, I know, seem but an effect of melancholy, as to have taken the pains to pen them will argue my want of other employments, or forlorn hopes of worldly thriving. Unto others, (and those more to be regarded,) so soon in print to publish what had been not so well concocted and more rawly penned, will be censured as a spice of that vanity which usually haunts smatterers in good learning, but wherewith judicious clerks are seldom infected. To the former I only wish minds more settled, or less conscience* of their own extravagances and careless mispence of choicest time; faults apt to breed a mislike of others' industry in such courses as will approve themselves in His sight that sits as judge and trier of all our ways, howsoever such as desire to be mere bystanders, as well in church as commonwealth's affairs, may upon sinister respects mutually misinform themselves. For many of the latter, I am afraid, lest, being partly such and so esteemed, they preposterously affect to be taken for more judicious scholars than indeed they are; for the fostering of which conceit in others, their unwillingness to publish what they have conceived aright may well be apprehended as a means not improbable. Not to expose their meditations to public censure, is and hath been (as the Christian world too well can witness) a resolution incident to men of greatest judgment; though no such essential property as necessarily argues either all so minded to be, or all otherwise minded not to be alike judicious. Certain

* See above, p. xxxvi. line 17.

it is, the more excellent the internal feature of men's minds is, the greater disparagement to them will an ordinary representation of it be; and to adorn their choice conceits with such outward attire as best beseems them would require too great cost and charges. Thus from perfection ofttimes springs defect; whilst judgment too much overgrowing fancy, and drying up that kind affection whereby the fruit and virtue of one soul is diffused unto another, makes men more jealous of diminishing the high estimate of their fore-prized worth than zealous of their inferiors' good, which many times might be reaped in greatest abundance from such labours as yield least contentment to their authors. In this respect alone can I gratulate my imperfections; hoping, that as my meditations can neither please the delicate for their form, nor inform the judicious for their matter, so they may prove neither offensive for the one, nor unfruitful for the other, unto many of a middle and inferior rank.

At the least, I trust they will occasion some others, whom God hath blessed with better ability and opportunity, to hunt that out which in this long range I may chance to start, or make full conquest of that goodly field wherein that inestimable pearl lies hid, for whose discovery these my travels may haply yield some observations not impertinent. To this end have I purposely trained my wits to untrodden paths, to adventure on new passages, unto that true treasure which all of us traffic for, ofttimes one to another's hinderance, the more because we beat one place too much, whenas many others might afford us the same or greater commodities better cheap. Though the truth be one, yet it is not always of one shape, whiles we look upon it divers ways. The mine wherein it lies is inexhaustible, ofttimes more full of dross and rubbish where most have digged; and though the inward substance of it be the same, yet the refining of it admits variety of inventions. Do not prejudice me, charitable reader, so much as in thy secret censure, as if these premises might seem to argue my dissent in any conclusions which our Church professeth; the event, I trust, shall acquit me, and condemn all my accusers, if any I have; and how I stand affected in points of spiritual obedience to my superiors thou mayest be informed, if it please thee but to peruse some few sheets of these my first fruits,

which I presume thou wilt, surely thou oughtest, ere thy censure pass upon me. If in the explication of some points I fully accord not with some well esteemed domestic writers, I trust Sarah's free-born children may enjoy that privilege amongst themselves which is permitted the sons of Hagar in respect of their brethren, though all absolute bondmen to their mother. Yet that I do not thus far dissent from some of my mother's children upon emulation or humour of contradiction, thou wilt rest satisfied upon my sincere religious protestation, that the whole fabric of this intended work was set, and every main conclusion resolved upon, before I read any English writer upon the arguments which I handle. From some indeed, which had written before me, I have since perceived a direct dissent in one or two points of moment; but wherein they had (in my judgment) contradicted the most judicious writers of our church, and all antiquity I am acquainted with, more rashly than I would do the meanest this day living. Yet shall they, or whosoever of their opinion, find the manner of my disputing with them such as shall not, I trust, exasperate, howsoever the dissonance of matter may dislike them. For outlandish or foreign Latin writers, I ingenuously confess, when I first laboured to be instructed in the fundamental principles of faith and manners, some points, which I much wished, I found they had not handled, in others, wherein I misliked nothing as unsound, I could not always find that full satisfaction which (methought) a more accurate artist (for a mean one I was then myself) would require. The greater since hath been my desire either of giving, or, by my attempt, of procuring satisfaction. But will not others, when I have done my best, so think and say of mine, as I have done of these much better endeavours? It were great arrogance to expect any less. Notwithstanding, if what they shall find defective in my labours move them to no worse patience, than what I thought (at least) was so in theirs that every way go before me, hath done me; nor I, nor they, nor the church of Christ, (by this means partaker, and free to dislike or approve, of both our labours,) shall, I trust, have any great cause to repent us of our pains. For thy better satisfaction, I will acquaint thee with the particulars which moved me to write.

First, in unfolding the nature and properties of Christian faith, to omit the errors of the Romish church, (wherein it is impossible it should ever come to full growth,) many in reformed, too much followed in particular sermons, did strive to ripen it too fast. I have heard complaints immediately from the mouths of some yet living, of others deceased, that they had been set too far in their first lessons; that the hopes they had out of hand directly built upon God's general promises, applied to them by their instructors, were too weighty, unless the foundations of their faith had first been more deeply and surely planted. That certainty of justification, and full persuasion of inherent sanctifying grace, whereat these worthies (whose footsteps I precisely track not) aim, is, I protest, the mark which I propose unto myself, but cannot hope at the first shoot to hit; if at the second, third, or fourth, (as shall please God,) it must content me. In the mean time, I hope, I shall neither offend him nor any of his, as long as I gather ground of what I prosecute, and still come nearer and nearer the proposed end. The first step, methought, that tended most directly to this certain apprehension of saving faith, was our undoubted assent unto the divine truth of scriptures in general: and for the working of this assurance, means subordinate I could conceive none better for the kind, (particulars others haply may find more forcible,) than such as I have prosecuted at large in the first book: not ignorant, that such as moved me more might move others less, those every man most that were of his own gathering, wherein the disposition of the Divine Providence (always concurrent to this search, so men would mark it) is most conspicuous. For this purpose I have proposed such variety of observations, as almost every one able to read the scriptures or other authors, of what sort or profession soever, students especially, may be occasioned to make the like themselves, well hoping to find a method as facile and easy for establishing the assent of the simple and altogether illiterate unto those articles whose distinct explicit knowledge is most necessary to salvation. But many, I know, will deem the broken traditions or imperfect relations of heathen men (for these I use) but weak supporters for so great an edifice, nor did I intend them for such service. Their ignorance, notwithstanding, and darkened minds, do

much commend the light of divine truth; so may the experience of their vanity dispose our minds to embrace the stability of God's word with greater steadfastness. We know the virtue and benefit of the sun, not so much by looking upon itself continually or directly, as by the variety of other objects or colours, all present with it to the eye, but altogether invisible or indistinguishable without it: so for my part, I must profess, that such historical narrations, poetical fictions, or other conceits of heathens as they themselves knew little use of, nor should I have done had I been as they were, being compared with this heavenly light of God's word, did much affect me even in my best and most retired meditations of sacred mysteries; their observation, as it were, tied my soul by a new knot, or fest, more surely unto that truth, which I knew before to be in itself most sure, most infallible. Yea, even in points wherein my heart unto my seeming was best established, it much did nourish, augment, and strengthen belief already planted, to observe the perfect consonancy of profane with sacred writers, or the occasions of their dissonancy, to be evidently such as scriptures specify: that of many events wondered at by their heathenish relaters, no tolerable reason could be given but such as are subordinate to the never-failing rules of scripture. And whosoever will, may, I presume, observe by experiment the truth of what I say. There is no motive unto belief so weak or feeble, but may be very available for quelling temptations of some kind or other, either in speculation or practice; of times such as are absolutely more weak or feeble, more effectual for expelling some peculiar distrust or presumption, than others far more forcible and strong for vanquishing temptations of another kind in nature most grievous. Many, half students, half gallants, are often tempted either to distrust the commendations of this Eden which we are set to dress, or distaste the food of life that grows within it, from delights suggested by profane books, wherewith commonly they are first acquainted, and hence much affect the knowledge their authors proffer, as likely to deify them in the world's eyes. Our proneness to be thus persuaded is a witness of our first parents' transgression, and these suggestions as relics of Satan's baits, whereby he wrought their bane. But what is the remedy? not to tread in any heathen soil, lest these serpents sting us? Rather, the best

medicine for this malady would be a confection of that very flesh wherein such deadly poison lodged. Other arguments may more persuade the judicious, or such as in some measure have tasted the fruits of the Spirit; but none the curious artist better than such as are gathered from his esteemed authors. Even such as are in faith most strong, of zeal most ardent, should not much mispend their time in comparing the degenerate fictions or historical relations of times ancient or modern with the everlasting truth. For though this method could not add much increase, either to their faith or zeal, yet would it doubtless much avail for working placid and mild affections. The very penmen of sacred writ themselves were taught patience, and instructed in the ways of God's providence, by their experience of such events as the course of time is never barren of, not always related by canonical authors, nor immediately testified by the Spirit, but ofttimes believed upon a moral certainty, or such a resolution of circumstances concurrent into the First Cause or Disposer of all affairs, as we might make of modern accidents, were we otherwise partakers of the Spirit, or would we mind heavenly matters as much as earthly.

Generally, two points I have observed, not much, for ought I know, if handled at all by any writer: albeit their fruit and use would fully recompense the best pains of any one man's lifetime, though wholly spent in their discussion, whose want, in my mind, hath been the bane of true devotion in most ages. The first is an equivalency of means in the wisdom of God so proportioned to the diversity of times, as no age could have better than the present, howsoever they may affect the extraordinary signs and wonders of former generations. Of this argument, here and there, as occasion shall serve, in this work; elsewhere at large, if God permit. The second is an equivalency of errors, hypocrisy, infidelity, and idolatry; all which vary rather their shape than substance in most men; through ages, nations, and professions, the ignorance of God remaining for the most part the same, his attributes as much (though in another kind) transformed by many in outward profession joined with the true church, as in times past by the heathen. The truth of which assertion, with the original causes of the error, and means to prevent it, are discussed at large in the article of the Godhead. Many likewise, for ought their con-

science (because not rightly examined) will witness to the contrary, are strongly persuaded they love Christ with heart and soul, and so detest, as well the open blasphemy or professed hatred which the Jew, as the secret enmity the Jesuit or other infamous heretics bear against him: whenas ofttimes the only ground of their love to him is their spite to some or all of these, as they are deciphered to them in odious shape; the only original of their despite to these, the very dregs of Jewish, popish, or other heretical humours in themselves, by some light tincture of that truth which they outwardly profess, exasperated to more bitter enmity against them with whose internal temper they best agree, than otherwise they could conceive; as admission to place of credit or authority makes base minds, conscious of their own forepast villainies, more rigid censurers of others' misdemeanours, or cruel persecutors of such malefactors as themselves in action have been, and in heart yet are, (were all occasions and opportunities the same,) than any moderate or sincere man in life and action could be. Of the original of this disease, with the crisis and remedy, as also the trial of faith inherent, in the articles concerning Christ and remission of sins.

From the manner of Jerusalem's progress to her first destruction, and discovery of the Jews' natural temper, (the principal subject of my subcisive or vacant hours from meditations, and other necessary employments of my calling,) I have observed the original as well of most states' as men's miscarriages professing true religion, to have been from presumption of God's favour before dangers approach, and distrust of his mercy after calamities seize upon them: the root of both these mispersuasions to be ignorance or error in the doctrine of God's providence, whose true knowledge (if I may so speak) is the fertile womb of all sacred moral truths, the only rule of rectifying men's wills, persuasions, and affections, in all consultations or practices private or public. Unto this purpose much would it avail, to be resolved whether all things fall out by fatal necessity, or some contingently; how fate and contingency (if compatible each with other) stand mutually affected, how both subordinate to the absolute immutability of that one everlasting decree. Want of resolution in these points (as far as my observation serves me) hath continually bred an universal three-

fold want: of care and vigilancy *for preventing dangers in* themselves avoidable; of alacrious *endeavours* to redeem time in part surprised by them; of *patience, of* hearty submission to God's will, and constant expectation of his providence, after all hope of redemption from temporal plagues long threatened by his messengers is past. For here we suppose (what out of the fundamental principles of Christian religion shall in good time be made evident) that in all ruinated states, or forepast alterations of religion from better to worse, there was a time wherein the possibility of misfortunes which afterwards befell them might have been prevented; a time wherein they might have been recovered from imminent dangers wherewith they were encompassed; a time after which there was no possibility left them of avoiding the day of visitation, never brought forth but by the precedent fulness of iniquity, but always necessarily by it. In the discussion of these and other points of like nature, (because more depending upon strict examination of consequences deduced from the undoubted rules of scripture, than upon authorities of antiquity, skill in the tongues, or any other learning that required long experience or observation,) I laboured most, whilst those arts and sciences which are most conducible to this search were freshest in my memory. And could I hope to satisfy others in all or most of these, as fully as I have long since done myself, I should take greatest pleasure in my pains addressed to this purpose. But would it please the Lord in mercy to raise up some English writer, that could in such sort handle these points, as their use and consequence, or necessity of present times requires; succeeding ages (I am persuaded) should have more cause to bless the day of his nativity, than of the greatest statesmen or stoutest warriors this land hath yielded since the birth of our fathers this day living. It shall suffice me to begin the offering with my mite, in hope some learned academics (for unto them belongs the conquest of this golden fleece) will employ their talents to like public use. What I conceive, shall be (by God's assistance) unfolded in as plain and unoffensive terms as the nature of the subject will bear, or my faculties reach unto, partly in the article of God's providence, partly in other discourses directly subordinate unto it.

Lastly, for the full and perfect growth, at least for the

sweet and pleasant flourishing of lively faith, one of the most effectual means our industry, that can but plant or water, attains unto, would be to unfold the harmony betwixt prophetical predictions and historical events concerning the kingdom of Christ and time of the gospel: a point, for ought I know, not purposely handled by any modern writer, except those whose success cannot be great, until their delight in contention and contradiction be less. Notwithstanding, whatsoever I shall find good in them or any other, without all respect of persons, much more without all desire of opposition or occasion of contention, (a matter always indecent in a Christian, but most odious and loathsome in a subject so melodious and pleasant,) I will not be afraid to follow, intending a full treatise of the divers kinds of prophecies, with the manner of their interpretations, before the articles of Christ's incarnation, passion, and ascension.

These are the especial points, which, for the better confirmation of true Christian faith, and rectifying persuasions in matters of manners or good life, are principally aimed at in these meditations. The main obstacle the atheist stumbles at, is the article of the body's resurrection. Whose passive possibility shall (by God's assistance) be evidently demonstrated against him by the undoubted rules of nature, whose priest or minister he professeth himself to be. That *de facto* it shall be, the scriptures, whose truth ere then will appear divine, must assure us; nature cannot, though thus much were in some sort known and believed by many natural men from traditions of the ancient, or suspected from some notions of the law of nature not quite obliterated in all sorts of the heathen, as shall in that article (God willing) be observed. But why, our assent unto this and all other articles in this Creed being in good measure established, the momentary hopes or transitory pleasures of this world should with most in their whole course of life, with all of us in many particular actions, in private and secret temptations, more prevail, than that exceeding weight of glory, which Christian hope would fasten on our souls, to keep unruly affections under, hath often enforced me to wonder; and wonderment hereat first moved me to undertake these labours, if by any me may attain unto the causes of this so grievous an infi

or find out some part of a remedy for it. Doubtless, had the heathen philosophers but known or suspected such joys as we profess we believe and hope for, or such a death, or more than deadly torments, as after this life ended we fear, their lives and manners would as far have surpassed the best Christians' now living, as their knowledge in supernatural mysteries came short of the most learned that are or have been in that profession: and yet whatsoever helps any Christian or heathen had for increasing knowledge or bettering manners, are more plentiful in this than any precedent age, so that the fault is wholly in ourselves, that will not apply medicines already prepared, as shall (God prospering these proceedings) be declared in the last article of this Creed.

For controversies betwixt us and the Romish church, besides such as are directly opposite to the end and method proposed, I purposely meddle with none: of that rank, some (as that of the church's infallibility) undermine the very foundation; others (as the doctrine of merit and justification, the propitiation of the mass) unroof the edifice, and deface the walls of Christian faith, leaving nothing thereof but altar-stones for their idolatrous sacrifices. For this reason have I built with one hand, and used my weapon with the other: laying the positive or general grounds of faith against the infidel or atheist in the first book, and guarding them in the second by the sword of the Spirit against all attempts of Romish Sanballats or Tobiahs, who still labour to persuade our people the walls of Christ's church here erected since our forefathers' redemption from captivity, unless supported by their supposed infallibility, are so weak, that if a fox should go upon them he should break them down[a]. In the third, (which was at this time intended, but must stay a while to bring forth a fourth,) I batter those painted walls, whose shallow foundations are discovered in the second. The other controversies about the propitiatory sacrifices of the mass, merits, and justification, I prosecute in the articles of Christ's passion, and of final judgment.

By this, beloved reader, thou mayest perceive my journey is long, and may well plead my excuse for setting forth so soon: but from that course which I have chosen, or rather

[a] Nehem. iv. 5.

God hath set me, I trust nor hopes of preferment, nor any desires of worldly wealth, nor affectation of popularity, by handling more plausible or timeserving arguments, shall ever draw me away. So far I am from aiming at any such sinister end, that since I begun to comment upon the nature of Christian faith, I never could nor ever shall persuade myself it possibly can find quiet lodging, much less safe harbour, but in an heart alike affected to death and honour; always retaining the desires and fear of both (either severally considered, or mutually compared) in equal balance. Both are good when God in mercy sends them; both evil, and hard to determine whether worse to unprepared minds, or whilst procured by our solicitous or importunate suit, or bestowed upon us in their Donor's anger. Only this difference I find: death is mankind's inevitable doom, but worldly preferment neither so common to all nor so certain to any: the less (in reason) should be our endeavours either for providing it or preparing ourselves to salute it decently, though coming of its own accord to meet us. But what meditations can be too long, or what endeavours too laborious, for gaining of an happy end, or giving a messenger of so importunate and weighty consequence, as death one way or other brings, correspondent entertainment? This Christian modesty I have learned long since of the heathen Socrates, to beseech my God he would vouchsafe me such a portion of wealth, or whatsoever this world esteems, as none but an honest, upright, religious mind can bear: or, to use the words of a better teacher, that of all my labours under the sun, I may reap the fruit in holiness, and in the end, the end of these my present meditations, everlasting life.

Thine in Christ,

THOMAS JACKSON.

THE ETERNAL

ETERNAL TRUTH OF SCRIPTURES,

AND

CHRISTIAN BELIEF,

THEREON WHOLLY DEPENDING; MANIFESTED BY ITS OWN LIGHT.

THE FIRST BOOK OF COMMENTS UPON THE CREED.

THE FIRST GENERAL PART.

SECT. I.

I believe in God the Father, &c.

IF in any at all, most of all in this present argument, may the truth of that usual axiom best appear,

Dimidium facti, qui bene cœpit, habet.

What's well begun, is well nigh done.

If God shall enable me rightly to unfold the contents and meaning of this first word *believe*, I may justly presume, the one half of this intended work to be finished in it, seeing it is an essential part of every article in the Creed: such a part, as, if it be understood amiss, we cannot possibly understand any one proposition of this whole confession aright. I shall not therefore seem tedious, I trust, unto the judicious reader, although I be somewhat long in unfolding the nature and conditions of belief; the divers acceptions and degrees of the same; with the means how it is or may be wrought in our hearts.

Whether we speak of the act and operation of believing, or of the disposition and inclination of the mind, whence this operation proceedeth, it skilleth not much: he that knoweth the true meaning of the one, without any further instruction may know the other. And because the act or operation is more easy to be known, let us begin with the most common and general, that is, with the best and most usually known acception or notion of belief.

2

CHAP. I.

Of Belief in general.

TO believe a thing, is to assent unto it as true, without any evident certainty of the truth thereof, either from our sense or understanding.

2. That belief is an assent; that to believe is to assent, all agree: but what more besides assent is required to some, especially to Christian belief, is much controversed among divines: of which (God willing) in the articles following.

3. That evident certainty, either of sense or understanding, must be excluded from the assent which is properly called belief, is evident and certain by our usual and common speech. Thus whiles we demand of him that relates any thing unto us for true, (as news or the like,) whether he know his relation to be certainly true, or no; if he neither have immediately heard nor seen the things which he relates, but have only taken them at the second hand, his usual answer is, Nay, I know not certainly, but I verily believe they are true, for divers reasons and credible reports: but if he had either seen or heard them himself, he would not say, I believe, but I know they are most true. For evident certainty doth drown belief.

4. Yet is this evident knowledge (whether sensitive

or intellectual) to be excluded only from the thing itself which is to be directly believed, not from other things that are linked or united to it by nature.

5. That which we evidently know, may ofttimes be the cause why we believe some other matters that have affinity with it. As he that seeth it very light in the morning, when he first openeth his eyes, may probably believe the sun is up, because he evidently seeth the air to be light. But no man (if you should ask him the same question) would say, that he believed the sun was up, when either the heat thereof doth scorch his face, or the beams dazzle his eyes; for now he knoweth this truth directly and evidently in itself. Nor is there any man that hath his right mind, that will say he verily believeth twice two make four; for this is evident, and certain to ordinary capacities, and he that only believeth this, knoweth nothing. For what men know certainly and evidently, they will not say they only believe, but know; what they so know not, they may truly and properly say they believe, if their assent to it be greater than to the contrary.

6. Some again distinguish this unevident assent (which is properly called belief) from other assents or opinions, by the grounds on which it is built. The ground of it (in their opinion) is *authoritas docentis*, the authority of the teacher or avoucher of the points proposed to be believed.

7. This distinction in some cases is true, but it is not necessary to all belief; nor doth it fully and properly distinguish belief from other unevident assents or persuasions. For even those assents or persuasions which seem most to rely upon authorities, may
strengthened by other motives or inducemei
our belief, or relying upon authorities, usu

if it be strong) ariseth from experiment of our author's fidelity and skill, as shall appear hereafter. For our present proceedings we take it here as granted, or supposed, that this word *belief*, as it is usually taken, is more general than that assent or persuasion which relies upon authority; yet not so general as to comprehend these assents or persuasions, which are evidently certain.

8. It may be objected, that the apostle calleth evident knowledge belief, when he saith, *The devils believe there is a God, and tremble.* For it should seem, that the devils know as evidently that there is a God, as we do that the sun did shine but yesterday, or this morning. For they once enjoyed the presence of God, and saw his glory, and since have had evident experience of his power.

9. Of God's being (no doubt) they have evident certainty; albeit of his other attributes their knowledge is not so direct nor evident, but conjectural, or a kind of belief. Wherefore unto this place of our apostle we may answer two ways; either that under this word *belief* he comprehends not only their assent unto the being or existence of the Godhead, but their assent unto other attributes of God, which they know not so evidently, and therefore may be said to believe them. Or if he understand only that assent which they gave unto the existence or being of the Godhead, he calleth this (though joined with evident knowledge) a *belief*, in opposition or with reference unto the belief of hypocrites, (against whom he there speaks,) which was much less then this assent of devils. For albeit that which is greater in the same kind cannot be properly and absolutely said to be the less; as we cannot properly and absolutely say that four is three, but rather contains three in it: yet upon some reference of the

greater unto the less contained in it, or unto some other third, we may denominate the greater with the name of that which is less in the same kind: as we may say of him that promised three and gave four, that he gave three, because three is contained in four. So the philosopher saith, that *habitus est dispositio*, "every habit is a disposition," not absolutely and properly, for it is more; yet because it is more, with reference unto that which is less, or unto the subject in whom it is, we may say it is *dispositio*, that is, it contains disposition in it, albeit no man would say that *habitus* were *dispositio*, if he should define it.

10. And men usually object to such as scoff at matters of religion, that the day will come, wherein, if they repent not, they shall believe the things which now they little regard; albeit they cannot be said in that day to believe them, if we speak properly and absolutely, without reference to their former incredulity: our meaning is, they shall do more than believe them, for they shall feel them. Nor can we say properly that the elect after the resurrection shall believe the articles of faith; seeing all agree, that of these three principal virtues, faith, hope, and love, only love shall then remain. The reason is that which you have heard already; because evident knowledge must be excluded from the nature of faith and belief; and the godly shall then clearly see Christ face to face, and 4
fully enjoy the fruit of his passion, which now they only believe.

11. As for certainty, we may not exclude it from the nature of belief, unless this speech be warily understood. For the certainty of the articles of our faith ought to be greater than the certainty of other knowledge; for we must believe them, although they be contrary to the capacity of our understanding: for

even this must we believe, that many things (as all supernatural things) surpass the reach of our understanding. Yet this we may safely say, that the certainty of the articles of our belief, [as of Christ his death, of his and our resurrection,] cannot be so great to us in this life as it shall be in the world to come, when we shall evidently know them. This rule then is infallible; That the knowledge of any thing is more certain than the belief thereof; although the belief of some things (as of Christ his passion) be more certain than the knowledge of other things; as namely, than the knowledge of human sciences. So then out of this it is evident, that belief taken generally doth neither exclude all certainty, nor necessarily require any; seeing some belief hath a kind of certainty adjoined with it, and some cannot admit it. Wherefore it remaineth, that assent is the essence of belief in general; I say, such an assent as is not joined with evidency.

12. This assent may be weaker or stronger, and so come nearer unto, or be further from certainty, according to the nature of that object whereunto we give assent; or according to the nature of that whereupon our belief is grounded; or lastly, according to our apprehension either of the object, or that which is the ground of our assent. Excess in the first of these [to wit, in certainty or stability of the object] doth rather argue a possibility of firmer belief, or more credibility, not more firm or actual belief. For as many things are more intelligible than others, and yet are least understood of many: so many that are most credible are least believed.

13. Excess in the second of these, whence the assent of belief may be strengthened, [that is, in the ground of belief,] doth rather argue a stronger hypothetical belief, than any absolute belief; unless the ap-

prehension or conceit of this ground be strong and lively. In ordinary reports or contracts, it skills not of what credit the party be, unto whose credence or authority we are referred for the truth of any promise or report; unless we have good inducements to think that he did either say or promise as we were told. If we be not thus persuaded by some apprehension of our own, we give only conditional assent unto the report or promise, and believe both with this limitation, [if he say so, whose credit we so esteem.] But if we can fully apprehend that he said so, we believe absolutely.

14. As in science or demonstrations it is requisite both that we know the true cause of the effect, and also that we apprehend it certainly as the true cause; (otherwise we have only an opinion;) so in true and absolute belief it is requisite that we have both a sure ground of our belief, and a true apprehension of that ground, otherwise our belief must needs be conditional, not absolute. It remaineth therefore that we set down, first the nature of the objects that may be believed; secondly, the several grounds of belief; and thirdly, the manner of apprehending them; albeit in some the apprehension of the object itself, and the ground of belief, are in a sort all one; as in that belief which is not grounded upon the authority of the teacher. This rule is general; wheresoever the objects are in themselves more credible, the ground may be more strong, and the apprehension more lively, so men be capable of it, and industrious to seek it: and equal apprehension of such objects as are more credible in themselves, (upon such grounds as are more firm,) makes the belief stronger than it could be of objects less credible, or upon grounds less firm. *Cæteris paribus*, every one of these three; first, greater credibility of the object;

secondly, surer ground of belief; thirdly, more lively apprehension of the object or ground, increase belief.

15. For the objects of belief, (whence this assent must be distinguished,) they are either natural or supernatural: but first of that which is natural. The objects of natural belief are of two sorts, either *scibilia* or *opinabilia*; either such things as may be evidently known in themselves, but are not so apprehended by him that believes them; or else such things as we can have no evident or certain knowledge of, but only an opinion. And of this nature are all the monuments of former ages, and relations of ancient times, in respect of us which are now living: all future contingents, or such effects as have no necessary natural cause why they should be, nor no inevitable let or hinderance why they may not be; as whether we should have rain or fair weather the next month, whether such or such nations shall wage war against each other the next year. These matters past, and contingent which are not yet, but may be, albeit they agree in the general nature of *opinabilia*, that neither of them can be exactly known, but only by opinion believed; yet both differ in that which is the ground of our assent or belief. The ground or reason why we believe things past, (as that Tully lived in Julius Cæsar's time, or that the Saxons inhabited this land,) is the report of others. The ground or reason why we believe future contingents, is the inclination or propension which we see in second causes to produce such effects; or the coherence betwixt any natural or moral contingent cause, and their possible or probable issue. As if we see one kingdom mighty in wealth, and at peace and unity in itself, bearing inveterate hate to another; or if we know that the one hath suffered wrong not likely to be recompensed, and yet able in politic estimation

to make itself amends; we believe that such will shortly be at open hostility one with another. Or if we see the air waterish, we believe it will shortly rain. Yet are not the grounds why we believe things past, and the grounds of believing future contingents, always so opposite, but that they may jump in one, and conspire mutually for the strengthening of belief. For we would believe our former conjecture of war or weather a great deal the better, if a cunning statesman should give judgment of the one, or an astronomer, or some that we know very weatherwise, his opinion of the other. For now, besides the probability of our own conjectures, we have other men's authority to confirm our belief. In both kinds, (either where the grounds of each are several, or where both conspire together,) as the ground of belief, or our apprehension of the ground is greater, so our belief waxeth stronger. 6 Thus we believe the Roman stories of Cæsar's times more firmly than the relations of Herodotus concerning matters of Egypt or other countries; because more writers, and they such as are less suspected of vanity or imposture, do testify the truth of the Roman affairs.

16. Other things which are credible, or may be believed, are (as we said) *scibilia;* such things as may be exactly known by natural reason, though not of the party which only believes them; (for exact knowledge always expels mere belief of the same thing in the same party.) That the sun is bigger than the earth, or that the motion thereof is swifter than any arrow's flight, may be known exactly by a mathematician; but ordinary countrymen (such as are not rustically wayward) do believe it; evidently and exactly know it they cannot. The ground of their belief in such a case is *authoritas docentis.* And this authority of

teachers or others, upon whose assertions we rely, consisteth partly in a persuasion of the teacher's or relater's skill in those matters which he teacheth or relateth, and partly in his honesty, fidelity, or veracity in his dealings or sayings. And as these are reputed greater, so do we more believe him in these things which he avoucheth for true, and rely more securely upon his authority. For as we said before, *cæteris paribus*, the certainty of belief increaseth as the ground of belief doth, both for the number of points believed, and for the firmness of the belief itself. If two of the same faculty teach us divers things, whereof we have no other ground but their assertion, we believe him better whose skill and fidelity we account of better; and the more the parties be that report or avouch the same thing, the more we believe them, if they be reputed skilful and honest. And where the authority is the same, both for extension and degrees, yet we believe the things taught better, from the better or more immediate apprehension of the authority. As if Aristotle, Euclid, or Archimedes were alive, and in that reputation for skill in their several professions which their works are in; we would believe those conclusions which we heard them teach, better than such as we had from them by others, or (as we said) at the second hand. For though the authority in both cases were the same, yet should not our apprehension of it be so, but more immediate in the former. We see by daily experience, how opinions only grounded upon the authority of teachers for their skill in such matters well reputed of, do enforce others (especially inferiors in that kind of skill) to give an assent unto the same truth, although they have good show of reason to the contrary. As what countryman is there, but would think he might safely swear that the earth were

an hundred times greater than the sun? yet if an astronomer, (of whose skill he hath had experience in other matters which he can better discern,) one whom he knew to be an honest plaindealing man, not accustomed to cog with his friend, should seriously avouch the contrary, that the sun is bigger than the earth; few countrymen would be so wayward as not to believe their friend astronomer, albeit (his authority set aside) they had no reason to think so, but rather the contrary. And it were a sign of ignorant arrogancy, if punies or freshmen should reject the axioms and principles of Aristotle, usual in the schools, because they 7
have some reasons against them which themselves cannot answer. For reason might tell them, that others, (their betters,) which have gone before them, have had greater reasons to hold them than they can yet have to deny them. This persuasion of other men's skill or knowledge will win the assent of modest and ingenuous youths unto such rules or axioms as otherwise they would stiffly deny, and have witty reasons to overthrow. But albeit this assent which men give to conclusions they know not themselves, but only believe upon other men's asseverations, may be very great; as many countrymen will believe an astronomer affirming that the sun is greater than the earth, better than they will the honestest of their neighbours in a matter that may concern both their commodities: yet if the relators or avouchers could make them conceive any probable reason of the same conclusions, [as if the astronomer in the mentioned case could shew, how every body the further it is from us seemeth the less, and then declare how many hundred miles the sun is from us,] men's minds would be a great deal better satisfied, and this assent or belief, which formerly did on ion authority, would be much strengthened

by this second tie or holdfast. And if we would observe it, there is usually a kind of regress betwixt our belief of authorities, and our assent unto conclusions taught by them. First, (usually,) we believe authority, and afterwards the conclusions taught by it, for the authority's sake. But after we once find experiment of the truth of conclusions so taught, we believe the authority the better from this experimental truth of the conclusion.

17. Out of all these acceptions and degrees of belief or assent, something may be gathered for better expressing the several degrees of true Christian belief; which, like Jacob's ladder, reacheth from earth to heaven. The first step whereof is belief or assent unto things supernatural.

THE FIRST GENERAL PART.

SECT. II.

CHAP. II.

Of assent unto objects supernatural.

THINGS supernatural we call such as the natural reason of man cannot attain unto; or such as naturally can neither be known or assented unto as probable, but are made known or probable by revelation. Such are the mysteries of our salvation, and the articles of Christian belief. For no article of our belief (if we consider them with all the circumstances, and in that exact manner as they are proposed in scripture to be believed) could ever have come into corrupted man's cogitation, unless God had revealed it unto him. Seeing then we cannot know them in any sort by
8 human reason and authority, neither can human reason or authority be the ground of our assenting to

them; it remaineth then, that *authoritas docentis*, the word of God, be the ground of our belief.

2. Here then must you call to mind what we said before, that *authoritas docentis* did consist in two things; namely, in the skill and fidelity, or sincerity of the teacher: and by how much we know those to be greater, by so much is our assent or belief strengthened. Now it is evident to reason that God is infinitely wise, and therefore cannot be deceived; whence necessarily it followeth, that he knoweth and can tell us the truth. Again, it is evident that God is most just and true, and therefore will not deceive us, but will tell us the truth if he profess so. Again, we cannot conceive of God aright, but we must conceive of him as omnipotent and full of power; and consequently such an one as needs not in policy, or jealousy of our emulating him in knowledge, to tell us otherwise than he knows. And therefore Aristotle reprehends the poets for saying, that the gods did envy men knowledge. His resolution is in English to this effect,

> That poets should the gods belie,
> More like, than gods should men envy [a].

3. And if the heathen were of opinion that the gods did not envy men knowledge, then must they needs believe, that if they taught them any, they would teach them true knowledge. Wherefore this must be laid down as a certain ground, That whatsoever God teacheth us is most true. Nor is there any (admitting there were a God) but would assent unto this. But here is the difficulty. How can we be assured that God doth teach us any of these things? or, how shall we know

[a] Arist. Metaphys. lib. 1. cap. 2, 13. Ἀλλ' οὔτε τὸ θεῖον φθονερὸν ἐνδέχεται εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν πολλὰ ψεύδονται ἀοιδοί.

that this we call scripture is the word of God? If our apprehension of this ground be sure, our faith is firm and absolute: if our apprehension hereof be doubtful, our faith must needs be unstable, or at the best but conditional.

4. Let us first, therefore, look what this conditional assent or belief doth bind us unto.

Although many that firmly believe whatsoever God saith is true, either do not acknowledge or do not firmly believe that these scriptures are the word of God; yet thus much in all sense and reason any natural man will grant; there be great presumptions and probabilities, why they should be taken for the word of God. And he that doth acknowledge but thus much, doth by this acknowledgment bind himself to reverence them above all human writings. For all men naturally know, that if they be God's word, they are worthy all possible reverence. Wherefore if a man suppose it only as probable that they are, or know nothing to the contrary why they may not be, God's word; he is bound to reverence and esteem them above all words or writings of man. As for example; if any subject in this land should receive letters concerning some lawful and indifferent request from any other his equal or fellow subject, whom he had great reason well to respect; suppose he certainly knew that they were such a man's letters, and no counterfeit: yet if
9 he should receive letters in his majesty's name, containing the same or other as reasonable request: although he knew not so certainly that these were his majesty's letters, as that the others were some well respected subject's, yet is he in duty bound to use them with greater respect and reverence than the former. The bare presumption and probability that they were the king's letters doth bind him to inquire

further, whether they were his letters or no: nor were his fault excusable, if he should shew any sign of disloyalty or irreverence towards them, until he knew that they were not such as their title or superscription did import.

5. He that hath but the same probability that the scriptures contain in them God's own words, as that Livy his histories contain the Roman affairs, must needs esteem of them infinitely above all human works. And this fruit hypothetical or supposed belief may bring forth, even in the unregenerate or natural man. And what hath been said of reverence to the scriptures upon this supposal, is also most true of man's actions. If men do but believe it as probable that the scriptures are the word of God; this belief will procure many good moral actions, and much amendment of life, though not such spiritual perfection as God in his word requireth. And the reason of this assertion is evident. For we see daily that men undertake actions of great difficulty and danger, not so much according to the probability of attaining some good, as according to the greatness of that good which possibly may be attained. So we see many, that might live in ease at home with certainty of moderate gains, to undertake voyages to the West or East Indies, only upon this resolution, that if it be their luck or lot to be rich, there they may have enough, although the adventure be subject to great dangers, and obnoxious to infinite casualties. And many there be that will not usually lay out a penny, but upon very fair ground of some gain or saving thrift, who yet will be well content to venture a crown or an angel in a lottery, where there may be some possibility, though not probability, of obtaining twenty or thirty pounds. These, and infinite other examples, obvious to daily expe-

rience, may serve as a perfect induction of our general assertion. That the mere possibility of obtaining some great and extraordinary good, is of greater moment in swaying men's actions, than certainty of accomplishing petty desires, or greatest probabilities of purchasing ordinary commodities or delights. To deduce then out of this general the particular we intended. In the scripture are promised to all such as love God and do his will, far greater blessings than human knowledge could ever have conceived. The like is true in avoiding dangers. Men oftentimes undertake matters of more difficulty and charges, to prevent some grievous mischances which may ensue, than they would do to escape some imminent but ordinary danger, or to release themselves from some smaller harms that already have befallen them. Could men consider these things seriously, and account of them but as probable; what is there in this life, which in any reason they should not venture for the obtaining of so great a good? Were men but probably persuaded that there were (as the scriptures and the articles of our belief tell us) a life everlasting, full laden with all the fruits of true life, joy, peace, and all choicest pleasures, without any annoyance; how could they not be most ready and willing to spend this whole transitory life (whose days are but few, and most of them evil, full fraught with grief and distress) in the service of God, who would thus reward them? Yea, how could they not be desirous to lay down this life itself, upon hope of obtaining such a life? For this life, compared to that to come, hath not the proportion of a farthing to whole millions of gold, or all the treasures in this world. Nor is the case herein like unto that of adventures or lottery; where a man may venture his life or goods if he list, but if he do not, none calleth

him to an account for not doing it; but in the scriptures everlasting torments, grief, and perpetual horror are threatened to all such, as frame not their lives according to God's will in them revealed.

CHAP. III.

Of general incitements to search the truth of Scriptures or Christian belief.

1. WE may hence clearly see how inexcusable, even in the judgment of flesh and blood, all men are, that either by hearing or reading have any access unto the gospel, and do not use the best endeavours of their natural wit (if God as yet have touched their hearts with no better grace) to search out the truth thereof. For seeing in the scriptures are proposed to every man's choice everlasting life or everlasting death; what extreme madness is it for men to enter into any course of life, or to undertake any matter of moment, which may exact their chief employments, before they have diligently looked to the main chance! before they have tried the utmost of their wits, and others' best advice, to know the tenor of their own estate! We see daily what great pains men of no small account do take in the study of alchymy, spending their spirits, and most of their substance, in trying conclusions, and searching out the truth of those things for which they have but weak grounds of philosophy or reason; only the conceit of the good they aim at (which is rather possible than probable for them to attain) enforceth a kind of hope, and encourageth them to go forward.

2. To speak nothing of the good the scripture promiseth, the very conceit of eternal death (methinks) should move, either the chymicks, (which spend much gold only upon hope of getting more,) or any other

man whatsoever, to spend all the treasure, whatsoever either this their art, or all other could yield, to secure themselves from such horrible torments, as the scriptures threaten to their contemners or negligent hearers. And why should not all men then in reason bestow most time and pains in searching the truth of those things which concern their soul's estate; whose security in all reason they should purchase with the highest hopes, and utmost aim of all other travails in this life? Here then (as I said) the full height of man's iniquity, and his inexcusable madness, is most plainly discovered; that having these two motives,
11 which in natural reason do sway all human actions, offering themselves to encourage him in searching the scriptures; yet notwithstanding, most men bestow less labour in them, than in other ordinary studies. First, if we compare the good they set before us, as a recompense and reward of our travails, it is beyond all comparison greater than the scope of any other trade or science. For here is a double infinity of solid good: first, they promise joy two ways infinite, both in degree and continuance. Secondly, they threaten unto their contemners and despisers death and torments doubly infinite, both in degree and continuance. Now if the probabilities of the truth of scriptures were far less than is usually found in other studies, or human hopes; yet could this in human reason be no reason why we should labour less in them than in other affairs; seeing the incomparable excess of the good they promise doth abundantly recompense this. But if the probability of the truth of scripture be in natural reason equal to the probabilities which men usually take for their grounds in many greatest attempts; then certainly not to bestow as great pains and travail, in trying the truth of their promises, as in any other human

attempts, or affairs, doth argue infinite madness. Ask we the chymick what reason he hath to toil so much in the study of Paracelsus, or other intricate writers of his faculty; (the like we may say of any physicians;) their answer (as you may read in their writings) is this: Many philosophers in former ages have laboured much in this study, and have set down good rules of their experiments; who (as is probable) would never have taken such pains upon no ground. And verily this tradition, or the authority they give to their writers, is their chief motive. For I think few of their ancient authors have bequeathed to their successors any gold made by this art, thereby to encourage them. If then tradition, consent of time, or approbation of authors, or relation of experiments, be an especial inducement for men to adventure their charge, pains, and travail in this faculty, as in all other affairs: without all controversy the scriptures in all these motives have an especial prerogative above all other faculties or sciences, albeit human reason were admitted judge. For the authority of God's church is far more general than the consent of any writers in any one faculty whatsoever. The consent of time likewise is greater. For no age since Christ's time in these civil parts of the world, but by the report of other writers, as well as Christians, hath yielded obedience unto scriptures as the word of God. Men of most excellent spirits and learning in every age have addicted their studies unto this truth. About the time of our Saviour's coming, curious arts, and other civil disciplines did most flourish. The Grecians sought after wisdom and secular philosophy, with the like; the Romans after policy, state-knowledge, and discipline of war; all the world almost (above others, those places wherein Christianity was first planted) was then set upon

curious arts: yet we see how the study and search of scriptures in short time did prove, as Aaron's rod amongst the magicians' serpents. It hath devoured all, and brought them to acknowledge allegiance unto it; using the help of best secular arts, as it were nutriment for the growth of Christianity, and expelling
12 the rest as excrements out of the church. Nor can the atheist name any age, wherein the heathen had an Oliver to oppugn our profession, but we had a Rowland to defend it. If they had a Porphyry or Celsus to oppose philosophy against it, we had an Origen (a man[b], by their own confession, of the most rare wit and hope for philosophy then living) to forsake philosophy and follow Christianity. It was not despair which made him and many other excellent scholars Christians: but the sure hope which they found in this profession made them contemn all other hopes, and cleave to it with their hearts and souls; albeit their souls should for so doing be violently separated from their bodies. This trial, I am persuaded, few of their greatest philosophers would have endured; but they had the potentates of the world, as ready to applaud them as to disgrace the Christians; and yet the Christians multiplied as the Israelites did by oppression in Egypt. How resolute they were, if we may not be believed bearing witness of our own profession, let Pliny[c] testify, in whose judgment constancy and reso-

[b] Porphyrius in vita Plotini, page 13. Πλατωνικοὶ μὲν Ἀμμώνιος καὶ Ὠριγένης, οἷς ἡμεῖς τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ χρόνου προσεφοιτήσαμεν, ἀνδράσιν, οὐκ ὀλίγῳ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς εἰς σύνεσιν διενεγκοῦσιν.

[c] Epist. lib. x. Ep. 97. In iis, qui ad me tanquam Christiani deferebantur, hunc sum sequutus modum. Interrogavi ipsos, an essent Christiani? confitentes iterum ac tertio interrogavi, supplicium minatus; perseverantes duci jussi. Neque enim dubitabam, qualecunque esset, quod faterentur, pertinaciam certe, et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri..... Propositus est libellus sine autore, multorum nomina continens, qui negant se

lution was the only crime in our profession deserving punishment. And for this cause he took want of resolution, in such as had been accused before him under the name of Christians, as a sufficient argument that they were not Christians in deed or heart; for such, as he had been informed, could not be enforced to any such idolatrous practice as he persuaded these men unto.

3. Lastly, the experiments which are related by authors of this profession, men (in any reasonable man's judgment) as much to be believed herein as any other writers in theirs, are far more notable and apt to produce belief, and hope of attaining the truth in this profession, than any others can have in theirs. The experiments of others were but ordinary and natural; these are extraordinary and supernatural. If the atheist should impudently deny the truth of their report, we may convince him with St. Augustin's acute dilemma: If the miracles related by our writers be true, they give evident experiment of the truth of scripture: if there were no such particular miracles, but all feigned, then this was a miracle above all miracles, that Christian religion should prevail against all other arts, power, or policy, without any extraordinary event or miracle. It was not so easy a matter to cosen all the Roman emperors, and their deputies, with feigned tales; the world, which hated Christians so much, was inquisitive enough to know the truth of their reports. I may conclude; *Nisi veritas magna fuisset non prævaluisset.* It was miraculous doubtless,

esse Christianos, aut fuisse, cum, præeunte me, Deos appellarent, et imagini tuæ, quam propter hoc jusseram cum simulachris numinum adferri, thure, ac vino supplicarent, præterea maledicerent Christo; *quorum nihil cogi posse dicuntur, qui sunt revera Christiani.* Ergo dimittendos putavi.

that it should so increase without arms; without any promise of carnal pleasure or security: but even against their natural inclination that did profess it, and all the world's opposition against it. It had enemies both private and public, domestic and foreign, even the flesh and sense of those which followed it fought against it.

4. Mahomet since that time hath found a multitude
13 of followers; but all either enforced to follow him by threats of shame, disgrace, and tortures in this life; or else allured thereto by fair promises of carnal pleasures, to be perpetual without interruption in the life to come. He hath set his followers such a course, as they might be sure both of wind and tide. And if the haven whereat they arrive were as safe as their course is easy, they were of all men the most happy. But Christianity from its first beginning was to row against the stream of flesh and blood, and to bear out sail against all the blasts that the Devil, world, or flesh could oppose against it. In a word, the increase of Mahumetism hath followed the barbarous Turkish monarchy's advancement, as moisture in bodies doth the increasing fulness of the moon. And it had been an extraordinary miracle, if a barbarous multitude (never acquainted with any civil pleasures) should not have composed their minds unto their emperors, in following a religion, framed, as it were, to court the senses and woo the flesh. But Christianity then flourished most, when the scorching heat of persecution was at the height: when the countenance of emperors, as terrible to their foes, (for their heroical valour,) as plausible to their friends, (for their lovely carriage,) were most fiercely set against it. What princes either more terrible to their enemies, or more amiable to their friends, than Trajan, Dioclesian, or others of the

Christians' persecutors were? What man living is there of civil education, that would not have loathed Mahomet, and the whole succession of the Ottoman family, in respect of these Roman princes? And yet a great part of their native subjects, men as otherwise excellently qualified, so of a quiet and peaceable disposition, yet ready always to venture their lives for these heathen princes, in most dangerous service against the enemies of the Roman empire, but most ready to follow the crucified Christ through fire and sword, against their emperor's command, (dearer to them than this mortal life,) and all the world's threats or allurements. It were sottish to think that such men had not perfect notice of some higher power's commandment to the contrary, (whom they thought it safer to obey,) when they contradicted the commandments or fair allurements of these supreme earthly powers. And it were as silly a persuasion to think, that if the great Turk would change his religion for any other, that might yield like hopes of carnal pleasure after this life, any great number of his subjects would lose their dignities for refusing subscription.

5. The brief of what hath been or may be said, concerning the grounds or motives of our assent unto objects supernatural, may be comprised in these four propositions following; of which the first two are axioms evident in nature, and received by all; the two latter, undoubted axioms amongst true believers, but suppositions only to mere natural men, or novices in Christianity.

6. The first: The style or title of these sacred books pretending Divine authority, bind all men to make trial of their truth, commended to us by our ancestors, confirmed to them by the blood of martyrs their predecessors, to use the means which they prescribe for

this trial; that is, abstinence from things forbidden, and alacrity in doing things commanded by them.

7. The second: Ordinary apprehension, or natural
14 belief of matters contained in scriptures, or the Christian creed, are of more force to cause men to undertake any good, or abstain from any evil, than the most firm belief of any ordinary matters, or any points of mere natural consequence.

8. The third: Objects and grounds of Christian belief have in them greater stability of truth, and are in themselves more apt to found most strong and firm belief, than any other things whatsoever merely credible.

9. For as the most noble essences, and first principles of every art, are most intelligible; so are Divine truths of all other most credible. Not that they are more easy to be assented to of any at their first proposal, but that they have a greater measure of credibility in them: and as their credibility and truth is inexhaustible, so belief of them once planted can never grow to such fulness of certainty as not to receive daily increase, if we apply our minds diligently unto them: so that true Christian belief admits no stint growth in this life, but still comes nearer and nearer to that evidence of knowledge which shall swallow it up in the life to come. For the conceit of impossibilities or repugnances in nature, objected by the obdurate atheists to make the principles of Christian religion seem incredible, (that they might, like old truants, have the company of novices in Christianity to loiter or mispend good hours with them,) we shall by God's assistance dispel them, and all other clouds of like errors, in unfolding the truth of those articles which they most concern.

10. The fourth: The means of apprehending the

truth of scriptures, and experiments confirming their Divine authority, are, both for variety of kinds, and number of individuals in every kind, far more, and more certain, than the means of apprehending the grounds of any other belief, or the experiments of any other teacher's authority.

11. Some particulars of every kind, with the general heads or commonplaces whence like observations may be drawn, we are now to present, so far as they concern the confirmation of the truth of scriptures in general. For the experiments which confirm the truth of such particular places of scripture as teach the articles of our Creed expressly, will come more fitly into the unfolding of the articles themselves.

THE SECOND GENERAL PART 15
OF
THE FIRST BOOK.

SECT. I.

Of observations internal or incident unto Scriptures, without reference to any relations or events, other than are specified in themselves.

ALTHOUGH the experiments confirming the truth of scriptures be, as I have said, many and diverse, yet all may be reduced into these general heads or kinds. They may be found either in the style or character of these writings themselves; the affections or dispositions of their writers; or in events or experiments (whatsoever the course of times affords) answerable to the rules set down in scriptures.

CHAP. IV.

Of historical characters of Sacred Writings.

TO any man endued with reason not perverted, the books of Moses give more perfect proof of matters done and acted, than any other history in the world can possibly do: albeit we set aside the secret characters of God's Spirit speaking in them, which we suppose can be discerned of none, but such as have the mark of the Lamb answerable to it engraven upon their hearts: but now we seek such inducements to belief, as may persuade the natural unregenerate man of the historical truth of these sacred volumes.

2. The prejudices arising from the strangeness of matters related by him, the reader shall find mitigated in the next discourse. In the mean time I must request him to suspend his judgment of them, and only to intend the lively characters of historical truth in other relations, of matters neither strange nor incredible in themselves. Either Moses wrote a true history, or else his words are but a fiction; either poetical to delight others, or political to advantage himself or his successors. Let such as doubt of their historical truth duly examine whether many things related by him can possibly be referred to any of these two ends. As for example, if these relations, Gen. iv. 1. and the 25. had not been either real adjuncts of some famous truth then sufficiently known, or else appointed by God to be notified for some special purpose to posterity; how could it possibly have come into any man's thought, or to what end should it have gone thence into his pen, to shew the reason why Evah should call her first son Cain, or her third Seth.

3. He that would set himself to contradict, might reply: Moses his invention was so copious, as to forecast that those insertions might make his history seem

more probable; or that he spake unawares, according 16
to the custom of the times wherein he lived. But why then should he omit the like in all the generations from Cain and Seth unto Noah? the reason of whose name given him by his father he likewise specifies Genesis v. 29, *Then Lamech begat a son, and called his name Noah, saying, This same shall comfort us concerning our work and sorrow of our hands, as touching the earth which the Lord hath cursed.* It was doubtless from some diversity in the matter presupposed unto this work, not from the workman's choice or invention, why the reason of these three men's names should be specified, as afterwards will more plainly appear. For the positive notes, or sure tokens of a true history, they are most plentiful in the stories of Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph. Each part of which the Divine providence (whereof these are the most ancient, most perfect, and most lively patterns) would have set out with such perspicuity of all circumstances, that the reader might be an eyewitness of their historical truth. The subject and issue whereof is in itself so pleasant, as will ravish sober and attentive minds, and allure them to follow the main current of Divine mysteries, which flow from these histories mentioned, as from their first heads or fountains. To point at some few, rather than handle any particulars.

4. If we may judge of the truth of men's writings by their outward form or character, as we do of men's honesty by their looks, speech, or behaviour; what history in the world bears so perfect resemblance of things done and acted, or yields (without further testimony than its own) so full assurance of a true narration, as the stories of Abraham's departure out of his land, his answers to God, Sarah's distrust upon misconceit of God's promises, her seeking to fulfil it

by giving her maid to Abraham, the manner of her speech upon her maid's contemning her, the debate and issue of her controversy, the dialogue between the angels of God and Abraham, with Sarah's apology for laughing at their message; Abraham's journey to mount Moriah, his servant's expedition to Aram Naharim, with his commission to provide his young master a wife? There appears not in any of these the least surmise of any political respect, nor any sign of affected delight or poetical representations: seeing this author falls immediately into other matters, and relates every thing (though many of most diverse natures) with such natural specification of every circumstance, as unless our hearts were prepossessed with belief that he had writ them by his direction, who perfectly knoweth all things, as well forepast, as present or to come, we would be persuaded that most of them were relations of such as acted them, uttered to their familiar friends immediately upon the fact, whilst all circumstances were fresh in memory.

5. How others are affected I cannot tell; methinks when I read that story, Genesis xxxiv, I am transformed into a man of the old world, and become a neighbour of old Jacob, overhearing him and his sons debating the slaughter of the Sichemites: the old man complains; *Ye have troubled me, and made me stink among the inhabitants of the land, as well the Canaanites as the Perizzites: and I being few in number, they shall gather themselves together against me, and so shall I and my house be destroyed. And they answered and said, Shall he abuse our sister as a whore?*

17 6. Or if this description, though issuing as naturally out of the real disposition of the true (no feigned) parties described, as brightness out of the body of the

sun, yet because but short, may seem more imitable by art; I will propose a longer dialogue betwixt this old man and his sons for a pattern; of which the fairest colours that art or invention can put upon any feigned subject will come as far short as Solomon's gaudy, but artificial attire, did of the native beauty of wild lilies; or any dye that art can give, of the natural splendour of finest pearls, the onyx or other more precious stone. [d] The story is, Genesis xlii. from the 29th unto the

[d] Genesis xlii. 29. *And they came to Jacob their father unto the land of Canaan, and told him all that had befallen them, saying,* ver. 30. *The man, who is lord of the land, spake roughly unto us, and put us in prison as spies of the country.* Ver. 31. *And we said unto him, We are true men, and are no spies.* Ver. 32. *We be twelve brethren, sons of our father: one is not, and the youngest is this day with our father in the land of Canaan.* Ver. 33. *Then the lord of the country said unto us, Hereby shall I know if ye be true men; leave one of your brethren with me, and take food for the famine of your houses, and depart;* ver. 34. *and bring your youngest brother unto me, that I may know that ye are no spies, but true men: so will I deliver you your brother, and ye shall occupy in the land.* Ver. 35. *And as they emptied their sacks, behold, every man's bundle of money was in his sack, and when they and their father saw the bundles of their money, they were afraid.* Ver. 36. *Then Jacob their father said unto them, Ye have robbed me of my children: Joseph is not, and Simeon is not, and ye will take Benjamin: all these things are against me.* Ver. 37. *Then Reuben answered his father, saying, Slay my two sons, if I bring him not to thee again: deliver him to mine hand, and I will bring him to thee again.* Ver. 38. *But he said, My son shall not go down with you: for his brother is dead, and he is left alone: if death come unto him by the way which ye go, then ye shall bring my gray head with sorrow unto the grave.* Chap. xliii. 1. *Now great famine was in the land.* Ver. 2. *And when they had eaten up the corn which they had brought from Egypt, their father said unto them, Turn again, and buy us a little food.* Ver. 3. *And Judah answered him, saying, The man charged us by an oath, saying, Never see my face, except your brother be with you.* Ver. 4. *If thou wilt send our brother with us, we will go down and buy thee food.* Ver. 5. *But if thou wilt not send him, we will not go down: for,* &c.

Ver. 6. *And Israel said, Wherefore dealt ye so evil with me, as to tell the man whether ye had yet a brother, or no?* Ver. 7. *And they answered, The man asked straitly of ourselves, and of our kindred, saying, Is your father yet alive? have ye any brother? and we told him according to these words: could*

15th verse of the xliii. chapter. The circumstances which I would especially commend unto the reader's consideration, are, first, the old man's jealousy, v. 36, upon his sons' relation what had befallen them in their journey, and the governor's desire of seeing Benjamin, ver. 31–35: his peremptory reply, ver. 38, to Reuben's answer, ver. 37: the manner of his relenting, chap. xliii. 6, upon necessity of their going for more food; and his sons' peremptory refusal to go without Benjamin, in the five first verses of the xliii. chapter: his condescending, ver. 11, upon their just apology for mentioning their youngest brother to the governor; and Judah's undertaking for Benjamin's safe conduct back and forth, in the 10, 9, 8, and 7th verses: lastly, the close, or *epiphonema* of his speech, ver. 13 and 14. Whilst I compare one of the circumstances with another, and all of them with other precedent and consequent, (chiefly with Judah's speech to Joseph, Genesis xliv. from the sixteenth verse to the end of the chapter,) although I knew no other scripture to make me a Christian, this one place would persuade me to be-

we know certainly that he would say, Bring your brother down? Ver. 8. *Then said Judah to Israel his father, Send the boy with me, that we may rise and go, and that we may live and not die, both we, and thou, and our children.* Ver. 9. *I will be surety for him; of my hand shalt thou require him: if I bring him not to thee, and set him before thee, then let me bear the blame for ever.* Ver. 10. *For except ye had made this tarrying, doubtless by this we had returned the second time.* Ver. 11. *Then their father said unto them, If it must needs be so now, do thus: take of the best fruits of the land in your vessels, and bring the man a present; a little rosin, a little honey, spices, and myrrh, nuts and almonds.* Ver. 12. *And take double money in your hand; and the money that was brought again in your sacks' mouths, carry it again in your hand, lest it were some oversight.* Ver. 13. *Take also your brother, and arise, and go again to the man.* Ver. 14. *And God Almighty give you mercy in the sight of the man, that he may deliver you your other brother, and Benjamin: but I shall be robbed of my child, as I have been.*

come a Pythagorean, and think that my soul had been in some of Jacob's sons, where it had heard this controversy, rather than to imagine that it could have been feigned by any that lived long after.

7. Or if we consider not the particular relations only, but the whole contrivance and issue of this story, what pattern of like invention had Moses to follow? If the atheist grant such a Divine providence as he 18
describes, let him tell us whence he learned it. If from any more ancient description, let this be suspected for artificial; if not, let this be acknowledged for the first natural representation of it. Without either a former pattern to imitate, or true resemblance of such a Divine providence in events immediately to be related, how could such a supreme power, governing and disposing all things contrary to the designs and purposes of man, be by mortal man conceived? More probable is the poet's fiction, that Minerva should be conceived in Jupiter's brain, than that human fancy should bring forth a more omnipotent, more wise or excellent deity, than the poets make their Jupiter, without any true image of his providence manifested in the effects. But after the manifestation of it in the story of Joseph, and the live picture of it taken by Moses, all imitation of it was not so difficult; though he that would seek to imitate him fully should herein come as far short of the solid marks of his historical truth, as the Egyptian's jugglers' tricks did of true miracles.

8. As all these, and many other places yield undoubted characters of true historical narrations, so do his speeches unto this people, Deut. xxix, xxx, xxxi, infallible symptoms of a dying man, and one that indeed had borne this mighty nation, as an eagle bears her young ones upon her wings. These admirable strains of his heavenly admonitions and Divine prophe-

cies, compared with the lively images of former truths, witness that he was the Janus of prophets, *Vates oculatus tam præteritorum quam futurorum*, "one that could both clearly see what had been done before his birth, and what should fall out after his death:" both which shall hereafter (God willing) better appear, by matters related and events foretold by him.

9. But to proceed: the whole historical part of the Bible, not Moses his books alone, yield plenty of such passages, as being compared with other circumstances, or the main drift and scope of the entire stories, whereof they are parts, leave no place for imagination, either why they should, or how possibly they could have been inserted by art or imitation; or have come into any man's thoughts, not moved by the real occurrence of such occasions as are specified in the matters related. And seeing all of them are related by such as affect no art; many of them by such as lived long after the parties that first uttered or acted them; we cannot conceive how all particulars could be so naturally and fully recorded, unless they had been suggested by his Spirit who giveth mouth and speech to man, who is alike present to all successions, able to communicate the secret thoughts of forefathers to their children, and put the very words of the deceased, never registered before, in the mouths or pens of their successors for many generations after, as distinctly and exactly as if they had been caught in characters of steel or brass as they issued out of their mouths.

10. When I read that speech in Ovid[d]—

Sive es mortalis, qui te genuere beati,
Et frater fœlix, et fortunata profecto
Si qua tibi soror est, et quæ dedit ubera nutrix.

[d] Metamorph. lib. 4. Fab. 7. 322.

If mortal thou, thrice happy sure thy parents be;
Or if thou any sister hast, thrice happy she;
Thrice happy nurse, whose breasts gave suck to thee—

I see no inducement to believe this for a true story, 19 because I know the end and aim of his writing was, to invent *verisimilia*, to feign such speeches as best befitted the persons whose part he took upon him to express, thereby to delight his hearers with variety of lively representations. But when I read that narration of our Saviour's apology for himself against the Jews, which said he had an unclean spirit, Luke xi. 14, and a woman coming in with her verdict, *Now blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps that gave thee suck*, ver. 27; this unexpected strain, with our Saviour's reply unto it, *Yea rather, blessed are those that hear the word of God, and keep it*, ver. 28, so briefly inserted into the story, enforce me to think that it was penned by one that sought only to relate the truth, part of which was this woman's speech. But with the means of knowing the New Testament to be the word of God, I will not here meddle; the Old Testament sufficiently proveth it, besides many other experiments to be prosecuted in the unfolding of sundry articles.

CHAP. V.

Of the Harmony of Sacred Writers.

ANOTHER inducement for believing the truth of the Old Testament is the harmony of so many several writers, living in such distance of ages, handling such diversity of arguments, and covering them with styles, for the majesty of some, and the familiarity of others, more different than Virgil's verses and the rudest countryman's talk; and yet all of them retaining the selfsa Whiles we read Tully, Virgil, Livy, S ugh all living near about one

time, yet their writings differ as much as flesh and fish. Many learned men like some one or few of these, and yet much mislike others, reputed as excellent writers in their kind, living about the same time: much more might he that should have read the common or vulgar historiographers, poets, or orators of that time, have contemned them as base in respect of the former. But the prophets of the Old Testament, and the historiographers of the same, though differing infinitely in degrees of style and invention, yet agree as well in the substance or essential quality of their writings, as the same pomander chafed and unchafed. There is the same odour of life and goodness in both, but more fragrant and piercing in the one than in the other. And no man that much likes the one can mislike the other; he may like it less, but dislike it he cannot, if he like the other.

Omnibus est illis vigor et cœlestis origo [e].

2. Many other inducements of this kind are set down at large by that flower of France and glory of Christian nobility, in the 24th and 25th chapters of his book of the Truth of Christian Religion; as also in Ficinus and Vives, whose labours it is hard to say whether he hath more augmented or graced. One especial motive is from the drift and scope of all these sacred writings, whether histories, prophets, psalms, or the gospel. The end and scope of all these is only to set out the glory of God and the good of mankind. In their most famous victories, and good success of their best contrived policies, they ascribe the glory wholly to God. There is no circumstance inserted to erect the praise of man, not of the chiefest managers of such affairs. They account it the greatest praise that can be given unto their worthies, to let the world know

[e] Æneid. lib. 6. l. 730.

they were beloved of God, and that God did fight for them. Not one writer in this sacred volume bewrays the least sign of envy towards others that lived with him, or had gone before him: not one that giveth the least suspicion of seeking his own praise by lessening others' deserts, as if he had corrected wherein others had erred, or finished what they had well begun, but left imperfect. No intimation in any of them to let posterity understand that it should think itself beholding to them for their good directions. They seek no thanks, as if they undertook their labours voluntarily, only for the good of others; but proclaim a necessity laid upon them for doing that which they do, and a woe if they do it not. They spare not to rehearse the iniquity and shame of their progenitors and nearest kinsfolks, with God's fearful judgments upon them for the same, to register their prince and people's, or their own disgrace (as the world counteth disgrace) to all posterity: so God's name may thereby be more glorified, and his church edified, Jer. ix. 23, 24: *Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, nor the strong man glory in his strength:—but let him that glorieth glory in that he understandeth and knoweth the Lord.* Jeremy himself revealeth his own slackness in undertaking his appointed charge, Jer. xx. 7, 8. 14–18; he nowhere bewrays any desire of praise, as if he had excelled all his equals in wit: all that is good in him or his people he giveth to God. Daniel, who did excel in the interpretations of dreams and prophecies, and had the state of many kingdoms for many years to come revealed unto him; so as if he would have challenged the revelation of his country's return from captivity, he could not have been disproved, yet ingenuously sheweth that he learned this out of the prophecy of Jeremy, Dan. ix. 2; although his measure

of knowledge was exceeding great, yet he affects not the reputation of *knowing above that measure which God hath given him*, Romans xii. 3.

3. This one quality (in them all) of not seeking their own nor their country's praise, but only the praises of their God, and the profit of his church, (if we consider it well,) may sufficiently testify that they speak not upon private motions who were thus clear from all suspicion of private respects. Nor can we suspect that they should thus conspire together unto one end from the will and purpose of man. For what man could limit others' thoughts, or rule their wits which lived after him? Least of all can chance be imagined the author of so many several writers' constancy in conspiring thus to one end in several ages. Let us conjecture what causes we can, St. Peter must resolve the doubt, 2 Peter i. 20, 21: *All of them spake as they were moved by the Holy Spirit, which was present one and the same to all.* If they had not spoken
21 as they were moved by the Spirit, but as if they had moved themselves to find out matter, or stretched their wits to enlarge invention; then would the later sort especially have catched at many by-narrations, and inserted many παρεργὰ, little pertinent to that foundation which others had laid before them. But now we see the continual drift of their writings so seriously set upon one and the selfsame end, as if they had all wrought by another's direction, who had cast the platform of the edifice himself, not minded to finish his work in any of the first workmen's age; and yet will have the latter to begin where the other left, without any alteration or tricks of their own invention.

4. All these properties of these sacred writers do sufficiently witness their motives to have been divine, but more abundantly whilst we consider the vanity of

the Jewish people, if we take them as they are by nature, not sanctified by the Spirit of God. For naturally they are given to magnify their own nation more than any other people living, yea, to make God beholden unto them for their sanctity; few of them would seek the praise of their God, but with reference to their own. Hence our apostle St. Paul brings it as an argument of the truth of his gospel, 2 Cor. iv. 5. in that he *did not preach himself, but Christ Jesus the Lord; and himself their servant for his sake:* so doth our Saviour, John vii. 18. *He that speaketh of himself seeketh his own glory: but he that seeketh his glory that sent him, the same is true, and no unrighteousness is in him.* This sincerity in teaching, (especially in a man of Jewish progeny,) when it is tried to continue without all affectation or dissimulation, is the true κριτήριον, or touchstone, the livery or cognizance of a man speaking by the Spirit of God. The like lively characters of sincerity are not to be found in any else, save only in these sacred writers, or such as have sincerely obeyed their doctrine. And in many of those books which our church accounts apocryphal, there evidently appears a spice of secular vanity; howsoever the penmen of them were truly religious sanctified men, and have sought to imitate the writings of the prophets, and other writers of this sacred volume. But much more eminent is the like vanity in Josephus, a man otherwise as excellent for mere natural parts, or artificial learning, as his country yielded any, not inferior to any historiographers whatsoever.

5. Seeing in this whole body of scriptures there appears one and the same spirit, albeit the members be of diverse fashion and quality; this sacred volume itself may serve as a lively type or image of that

unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, which ought to be in the church and mystical body of Christ, Ephes. iv. 3: they all endeavour to *keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace:* none of them presumed to *understand above that which was meet for them to understand:* all *according to sobriety, as God dealt to every one of them the measure of faith:* they are as *many members of one body, which have not one office,* ver. 4: and we may see that verified in the canon of the Old Testament which St. Paul attributes unto the church in Christ[f]; *There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit.* And again, *to one was given the spirit of wisdom,* as unto Solomon; *to another knowledge,* as unto Ezra, Nehemiah; *to another faith,* as unto Moses, Abraham; *to another pro-*
22 *phecy,* as unto Esay, Jeremy: *All these gifts were wrought by one and the same Spirit, which distributed to every one as he would.* The best means to discern this harmony in their several writings would be to retain the unity of the Spirit by which they wrote. But alas! we have made a division in the body of Christ, whilst one of us detracts, envies, or slanders another; or whiles we wrangle unmannerly about idle questions, or terms of art, our jars (ours that have the name of Christ's messengers) make all the world besides, and ourselves ofttimes, (we may fear,) doubt of the true and real unity betwixt Christ and his members, now eclipsed by our carnal divisions. But howsoever, these here mentioned are, in their kind, good motives unto sober minds; and the more diligent and attentive men are, to observe these and the like, the more fully shall they be persuaded that these writings are the dictates of the Holy Ghost.

[f] 1 Cor. xii. 4, 14, 11.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Affections or Dispositions of the Sacred Writers.

WITH the experiment of this kind we may rank the vehemency of affection which appears in many of these sacred writers, most frequent in the book of Psalms. And to distinguish feigned or counterfeit from true experimental affections, is the most easy and most certain kind of criticism. He that never had any himself, may safely swear that most poets, ancient or modern, have had experience of wanton loves. For who can think that Catullus, Ovid, and Martial had never been acquainted with any but painted women, or written of love matters only as blind men may talk of colours? Or who can suspect that either Ovid had penned his books *de Tristibus*, or Boetius his Philosophical Consolation, only to move delight; (as children ofttimes weep for wantonness;) or feigned these subjects to delude the world, by procuring real compassion to their counterfeit mourning? But much more sensibly may we feel the pulses of our Psalmists' passions beating their ditties, if we would lay our hearts unto them. Albeit we seek not to prove their Divine authority from the strength of passion simply, but from the objects, causes, or issue of their passions. And the argument holds thus: As the ethnic poets' passions, expressed in their writings, bewray their experience in such matters as they wrote of; as of their carnal delight in love enjoyed, or of earthly sorrow for their exiles, death of friends, or other like worldly crosses: so do these sacred ditties witness their penmen's experience in such matters as they profess; as of spiritual joy, comfort, sorrow, fear, confidence, or any other affection whatsoever. If we compare Ovid's

g Tristia, lib. 2.

elegy to Augustus with that Psalm of David in number the fifty-first, why should we think that the one was more conscious of misdemeanour towards that monarch, or more sensibly certain of his displeasure procured by it, than the other of foul offences towards God, and his heavy hand upon him for them? David's penitent bewailing of his soul's loss, in being separated from her wonted joys, his humble entreaty and importunate suit, for restauration to his former estate, argue
23 he had been of more entire familiar acquaintance with his heavenly, than Ovid with his earthly lord; that he had received more sensible pledges of his love, was more deeply touched with the present loss of his favour, and better experienced in the course and means of reconcilement to it again. *Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy lovingkindness: according to the multitude of thy compassions put away mine iniquities. Wash me throughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin. For I know mine iniquities, and my sin is ever before me. Against thee, against thee only have I sinned, and done evil in thy sight*[h]. What was it then which caused his present grief? Bodily pain? exile, loss of goods, want, or restraint of sensual pleasures? yea, what was there that worldly minded men either desire or know, which was not at his command? And yet he, well for health of body, only oppressed with grief of mind, most desirous to sequester himself from all solace which his court or kingdom could afford, in hope to find his company alone who was invisible, and to renew acquaintance with his Spirit—*Create a clean heart (O God) and renew a right spirit within me. Cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy Holy Spirit from me.* He accounts himself but as an exile, though

[h] Psalm li. 1, 2, 3.

living in his native soil, but as a slave, though absolute monarch over a mighty people, whilst he stood separate from the love of his God, and lived not in subjection to his Spirit. If one in hunger should loathe ordinary or coarse fare, we would conjecture he had been accustomed to more fine and dainty meats. Hereby then it may appear that David had tasted of more choice delights and purer joys than the carnal minded knew, in that he loathes all earthly comfort in this his anguish, (wherein he stood in greatest need of some comfort,) desiring only this of God: *Restore me to the joy of thy salvation, and establish me with thy free Spirit.* So far was he from distrusting the truth of that ineffable joy, which now he felt not (at the least) in such measure as he had done before, that he hopes by the manifest effects of it once restored, to dissuade the atheist from his atheism, and cause lascivious or bloodthirsty minds to wash off the filth wherein they wallow with their tears. For so he addeth, *Then shall I teach thy ways unto the wicked, and sinners shall be converted unto thee. Deliver me from blood, O God, which art the God of my salvation, and my tongue shall sing joyfully of thy righteousness. Open thou my lips, O Lord, and my mouth shall shew forth thy praise;* which as yet he could not shew forth to others, because abundance of joy did not lodge in his heart; for God had sealed up sorrow therein, until the sacrifice of his broken and contrite heart were accomplished. From the like abundant experience of this heavenly joy, the Psalmist, Psalm lxvi. 16, bursteth out into like confident speeches, inviting us, as Christ did his apostle Thomas, to come near and lay our hands upon his healed sore, and by the scars to gather the skill and goodness of him that had thus cured him beyond all expectation: *Come*

and hearken, all ye that fear God, and I will tell you what he hath done to my soul. I called unto him with my mouth, and he was exalted with my tongue. Praised be God, which hath not put back my prayer, nor his mercy from me[i]. The fulness of his inward joys was such, and God's providence over him so manifest and wonderful, that the present age wherein he
24 lived could not (to his seeming) but take notice of it, whilst the particulars, wherein the Lord had heard him, were in fresh memory: and all posterity, he presumes, out of the abundance of his own belief, should still believe the goodness of God, from this experimental relation of his goodness towards him. He that hath least experience of the like in himself, would he but attentively mark the fervency of those men's zeal, and vehemency of their godly passions, expressed in these here mentioned, and many like unaffected strains, could not but acknowledge that famous inscription, which a later degenerate lascivious poet (out of such a vainglorious humour, as moves some basely descended to usurp the arms of noble men, whose names they bear) sought to bestow on all, even upon such as himself was, Vates in name but not in quality, to belong of right only to these psalmists, or ancient sacred poets.

Est Deus in vobis, agitante calescitis illo:
Impetus hic sacræ semina mentis habet[k].

Sure in your breasts God's Spirit hath his seat,
'Tis Divine motion breeds this heavenly heat.

For who can imagine that the author of the seventy-fourth Psalm, ver. 9, should complain without some touch of that Spirit, which he knew had been more plentiful in such as had gone before him; *We see*

[i] Psalm lxvi. 16, 17, 20.

[k] Ovid. Fasti, lib. vi. l. 5.

not our signs: there is not one prophet more: not any that knoweth how long. Ver.10. *O God, how long shall the adversary reproach? shall the enemy blaspheme thy name for ever?* 11. *Why withdrawest thou thine hand, even thy right hand? draw it out of thy bosom and consume them.* 12. *Even God is my King of old, working salvation in the midst of the earth.* These sober and constant motions, as it were, of systoles and diastoles, between despair and hope, expressed in this and the forty-fourth Psalm, argue that those wonders and noble works which they had heard with their ears, and their fathers had told them, were no fables, but matters truly and really acted, which had left deep impression in their forefathers' hearts, who had so thoroughly felt and tasted the extraordinary goodness of their God, that the longing desire of like favour is transfused as hereditary to posterity, as the desire of such meats as parents best affect, and use most to feed upon, usually remains in their children.

2. Or, to use the author of the forty-second Psalm his own comparison, braying doth not more sensibly notify the *hart's panting after the water-brooks*, than that Psalm doth his thirsting after the Spirit of life; which sometime had been diffused through his faculties, and had fructified in joy and comfort, but now in these storms of affliction lay hid in his heart, only supporting it with hopes of like fruit against a better season; as the sap whereby trees flourish in summer, retiring to the root in winter, preserveth them sound within, so that although frosts may nip, and storms outwardly deface them, yet they break forth again, and bear fruit in the spring. And although I never mistrusted the truth of that dissension betwixt the willingness of the spirit and weakness of the flesh,

25 oft mentioned in scripture; yet, I know not how, it addeth more life to my belief, whilst I see this conflict acted by the author of the forty-second and forty-third Psalms. The flesh complains, as if his heart were ready to close with dejected fear; *My soul is cast down within me, all thy waves and floods are gone over me.* The spirit, like a good physician, by reiterating that speech of comfort, *Why art thou cast down, O my soul, and why art thou so disquieted within me,* raiseth it up again, and dilateth his heart with hope in God, against all hope in worldly sight. For so he concludeth both these Psalms, *Wait on God; for I will yet give him thanks: he is my present help, and my God.* Generally, though the Psalmist's complaints be ofttimes grievous, yet they never end them but with hearty prayer; though God oftimes lay great plagues upon them, yet is their confidence always as great, that he will heal them. The beginning of their mournful ditties always represents the storms of grief and sorrow that had gone over their souls; their end and close is like the appearing of the morning star, foreshewing the removal of the shadow of death wherein they sat. Their sudden transitions from grief to joy is even as the breaking out of the sun from under a thick tempestuous cloud; so that the outward character of their songs is a lively representation of that truth, which one of them out of his inmost experience hath left registered to the world; *His wrath endureth but the twinkling of an eye, and in his pleasure is life: heaviness may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning.* Psalm xxx. 5.

3. This patience in adversity, and confident expectation of deliverance from above, compared with the heathen's impatience, always ready to accuse their gods in their unexpected calamities, and seeking to

vent their grief in poetical invectives against them, infallibly testify that the one did only know the Divine powers by hearsay, the others by experience; and that God was near to this people in all which they called upon him, and beheld the affairs of the heathen only afar off.

4. Yet beside these particular lively characters of experimental joy or grief, fear or confidence; their consonancy with the historical truth of alterations in the state of Jewry will much illustrate the former observations. For albeit the Psalmists, in their greatest distresses or calamities, murmur not against the Lord God as the heathens do; yet the tenor of some late mentioned, with divers other Psalms, argue that the people of God, in those times wherein they were written, either had not such manifest signs of God's favour, or else found not such speedy deliverance from the dangers feared, or calamities suffered by them, as the prophet David in the twenty-seventh Psalm, ver. 1. and other of their godly ancestors, had done. *The Lord*, saith David, *is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear? the Lord is the strength of my life; of whom shall I be afraid?—Though an host pitched against me, mine heart should not be afraid: though war be raised against me, yet I will trust in this:* to wit, upon his former experience of God's mercies specified, ver. 2. *When the wicked, mine enemies, came, and my foes came upon me to eat up my flesh, they stumbled and fell.* But greater was his confidence from the more often experience of God's favour, when as his case otherwise, for the multitude and malignity of his enemies, was more desperate: Psalm iii. 1. *Many were his adversaries that rose up against him; and many that said unto his soul,* (when he fled from his 26
son Absalom,) ver. 2. *There is no help for him in his*

God. Yet he, as an expert soldier, cannot be terrified with stales or brags, but betaketh himself unto his weapons, ver. 3. *Thou, Lord, art a buckler for me; my glory, and the lifter up of my head.* So little is he dismayed, that after his prayers he taketh his quiet rest: ver. 4. *I did call upon the Lord with my voice, and he heard me out of his holy mountain. I laid me down and slept, and rose again, for the Lord sustained me.* Ver. 6. *I will not be afraid for ten thousands of the people that should beset me round about.* The same confidence, raised from the experience of God's assistance, was in the author of the forty-sixth Psalm, *God is our help and strength, a very present help in trouble: therefore will we not fear, though the earth be moved, and though the mountains fall into the midst of the sea.* The manner of David's carriage, his confident presaging of good success, in times more apt to breed despair in others less experienced in assistance from above, expressed in sundry Psalms, composed when he fled from Saul, yield abundance of observations pregnant for this purpose.

5. Otherwhiles this kingly prophet expostulates the wrongs offered by his enemies so confidently, and relateth his own integrity in such pathetical and serious manner, that unless the inscription of his petitions, or other historical circumstance, did give us notice to whom he tendered his complaints, we would think that they had been so many reports of what he had openly pleaded at some bar, or court of civil justice, in the personal presence, sight, or audience of some visible judge, ready to give sentence for him upon the first hearing of his cause. If any civil heathen, that never had heard of any invisible God, should have taken up some of his Psalms (the ninth for example) in the streets, he would have imagined that the author of

them had either heard some supreme magistrate in his time deeply protesting his resolution for righting the poor, or else had been most intimately acquainted with the integrity of his proceedings in matters of justice, that he durst so confidently avouch unto the world on his behalf, Psalm ix. 8, *He shall judge the world in righteousness, and the people with equity;* ver. 9. *The Lord also will be a refuge for the poor, a refuge in due time, even in affliction;* ver. 10. *And they that know thy name will trust in thee: for thou, Lord, hast not failed them that seek thee.* So lively was David's and other ancient psalmists' experience of the invisible God's assistance always ready, as well in war as in peace, as well in executing judgment upon their treacherous, deceitful, or secret enemies, as in giving them victory over their professed and potent foes.

6. But posterity had not oftentimes so full experience of the same assistance, as appeareth from the manner of their complaints. The reason of this diversity in the ancient and later psalmists' apprehension of God's favour, either in delivering them from danger or righting them from wrong, was from the diversity of times, the later not yielding so manifest and frequent documents of God's mercy or justice as the former had done. As God's plagues upon the ancient Israelites were ofttimes sudden, and (for the time) violent; so their deliverance from them was speedy, because their stubbornness was less, and the sins for which they were to repent, of less continuance. But the continual increase of this people's wickedness, in their successions, and posterities' slackness in sorrowing either for their own or predecessors' sins, made 27
God's plagues inflicted upon them more durable, as appeareth by the long captivities and oppressions of this people in later ages, if we compare them with the

often but short afflictions which in former times had befallen them. This long durance of great calamities made posterity less apprehensive of God's promises than their forefathers had been; at the least, whiles these continued, they were less acquainted with God's favour than their predecessors were. And from the want of like sensible experience of his present help in time of trouble, later generations are more querulous and less confident in their prayers uttered in their distress, as we may see in the ninety-eighth and other Psalms, conceived by the godly amongst this people in the calamities of later times. Thus we may see how truly the diversity of God's dealing with his people in different ages is represented in the character, style, or affection of these sacred writers, all much different in former and later ages: much more may we presume, that the general and true diversity of times, and God's diverse manner of proceeding with mankind in their several generations, is most truly related and exemplified in the historical relations of the same sacred volumes; of which in the section following.

7. Thus much of experiments or observations drawn from the character or tenor of these sacred writings themselves, or their writers' affections represented in them. These I have gathered, not that I can hope to persuade any man so much by reading them, as by occasioning him to observe the like, whiles he readeth these sacred volumes. For every man that readeth them with attentive observation, may apprehend much more for the framing of true belief in his own heart, than he can express to others; yea, to seek to make full resemblance of our inward belief, or such experiments as confirm it, by outward discourse, were all one, as if a man out of the slight impression or transi-

tory representation of his own face which he had lately beheld in a glass, should seek to describe it as fully and perfectly to another man's apprehension, as if he had looked upon it with him in the same glass.

8. As the representation of our bodily shape is lively and perfect whilst we behold it in a true and perfect glass, but the memorial or phantasy of it when we are gone thence, imperfect and dull: so is the apprehension of our own, or experiments of others' belief, sensible and fresh, whilst we set our hearts and minds unto this perfect law of liberty, the only true glass of our souls; but more hard to retain in memory, or to be fully represented to another by discourse, than our bodily shape is by a bare description. And as in the art of painting, general rules may be given for the right drawing of pictures, yet he that will take any particular man's must look upon the live face itself, or use the benefit of his glass: so in this case, there may be good directions given how men should draw experiments, or take observations of this kind, which being taken, cannot be fully imprinted in another by him that took them; but every man must have continual recourse unto this spiritual glass, which far surpasseth all bodily glasses in this; that in it we may see, not only the true shape and proportion of our souls as they are, or of what fashion they should be; but it hath also an operative force of assimilating them unto the patterns of godly and religious men's souls repre- 28
sented herein, yea, even of transforming them into the similitude of that image wherein they were first created. The ideas of sanctity and righteousness contained in this spiritual glass are the causes of our edification in good life and virtue; as the idea or platform in the artificer's head is the cause of the material house that is builded by it.

SECT. II.

Of Experiments and Observations external, answerable to the Rules of Scripture.

CHAP. VII.

Containing the Topic, whence such Observations must be drawn.

1. If the books of some ancient rare author, who had written in sundry arts, should be found in this age, all bearing the author's name and other commendable titles prefixed, a reasonable man would soon be persuaded that they were his whose name they bore; but sooner, if he had any positive arguments to persuade himself of their antiquity, or if they were commended to him by the authority or report of men in this case credible. But besides all these, if every man according to his experience or skill in those arts and faculties which this ancient writer handles, should upon due examination of his conclusions or discourse find resolution in such points as he had always wavered in before, or be instructed in matters of his profession or observation whereof he was formerly ignorant, this would much strengthen his assent unto the former reports or traditions concerning their author, or unto the due praises and titles prefixed to his works; albeit he that made this trial could not prove the same truth so fully to another, nor cause him to believe it so firmly as he himself doth, unless he could induce him to examine his writings by like experiments, in some faculty wherein the examiner had some, though less skill. And yet after the like trial made, he that had formerly doubted would believe these works to be the supposed author's, and subscribe unto the titles

and commendations prefixed, not so much for the former's report or authority, as from his own experience. Now we have more certain experiments to prove that the scriptures are the word of God, than we can have to prove any men's works to be their supposed author's: for one author in any age may be as good as another, he perhaps better of whom we have heard less. We could in the former case only certainly believe that the author, whosoever, was an excellent scholar, but we could not be so certain that it was none other but he whose name it did bear; for there 29
may be many Aristotles and many Platos, many excellent men in every profession, yet but one God that is all in all; whose works we suppose the scriptures are, which upon strict examination will evince him alone to have been their author.

2. The means then of establishing our assent unto any part of scripture, must be from experiments and observations agreeable to the rules in scripture. For when we see the reason and manner of sundry events, either related by others, or experienced in ourselves, which otherwise we could never have reached unto by any natural skill; or generally, when we see any effects or concurrence of things which cannot be ascribed to any but a supernatural cause, and yet they fully agreeing to the oracles of scriptures or articles of belief: this is a sure pledge unto us, that he who is the author of truth, and gives being unto all things, was the author of scriptures.

3. Such events and experiments are diverse, and according to their diversities may work more or less on diverse dispositions; some may find more of one sort, some of another, none all. Some again may be more induced to believe the truth of scriptures from one sort of experiments, some from others. Those obser-

vations are always best for every man, which are most incident to his vocation. With some variety of these observations or experiments we are in the next place to acquaint diverse readers.

CHAP. VIII.

That Heathenish Fables ought not to prejudice Divine Truth.

1. NOTHING more usual to men, wise enough in their generation, than for the variety or multitude of false reports concerning any subject, to discredit all that are extant of the same. And all inclination unto diffidence or distrust is not always to be misliked; but only when it sways too far, or extends itself beyond the limits of its proper circumference, that is, matters of bargain or secular commerce. As this diffident temper is most common in the cunning managers of such affairs, so the first degree or propension to it were not much amiss in them, did they not *transcendere a genere ad genus;* that is, were not their mistrust commonly too generally rigid and stiff. For most men of great dealings in the world, finding many slippery companions, hold it no sin to be at the least suspicious of all: others, being often cozened by such as have had the name and reputation of honest men, begin to doubt whether there be any such thing indeed as that which men call *honesty;* and from this doubting about the real nature of honesty in the abstract, they resolve undoubtedly, that if any man in these days do not deal ill with others, it is only for want of fit opportunity to do himself any great good. But as facility in yielding assent, unless it be moderated by discretion, is an infallible consequent of too great simplicity, and lays a man open to abuse and wrong in matters of this life; so general mistrust is the certain forerunner of infidelity, and makes a man apt enough to

without a tempter, in matters of the life to come; though otherwise this is the very disposition which 30
the great tempter works most upon: who for this reason, when any notable truth of greater moment falls out, labours by all means to fill the world with reports of like events, but such as upon examination he foresees will prove false: for he knows well, that the belief of most pregnant truths may by this means be much impaired, as honest men are usually mistrusted when the world is full of knaves. And to speak the truth, it is but a very short cut betwixt general and rigid mistrust in worldly dealings, and infidelity in spiritual matters; which indeed is but a kind of diffidence or mistrust: and he that from the experience of often cozenage comes once to this point, that he will trust none in worldly affairs but upon strong security or legal assurance, may easily be transported by the variety or multitude of reports in spiritual matters notoriously false, to believe nothing but upon the sure pledge and evidence of his own sense or natural reason. This is one main fountain of atheism; of which (God willing) in the article of the Godhead. In this place I only desire to give the reader notice of Satan's policy, and to advertise him withal, that as there is a kind of ingenuous simplicity, which if it match with sobriety and serious meditation, doth prepare our hearts to Christian belief; so there is a kind of suspicion, by which we may outreach the old serpent in his subtilty, and prevent his former method of deceit. So whilst we read or hear variety of reports concerning any notable event, or many writers beating about one matter, every one of which may seem improbable in particular circumstances, or else their diversity such as makes them incompatible; we should
iealous that there were some notable truth, whose
concern us, which Satan hath sought to dis-

parage by the mixture, either of gross improbable fruitless fables, or else of dissonant probabilities.

2. Truth is the life and nutriment of the world, and the scriptures are the veins or vessels wherein it is contained; which soon corrupts and putrifies, unless it be preserved in them as in its proper receptacles, as both the fabulous conceits of the heathen, and foolish practices of the Romish church in many points may witness. But as from Asphaltites, or the Dead sea, we may find out the pleasant streams and fresh springs of Jordan; so from the degenerate and corrupted relish of decayed truth, which is frequent in the puddle and standing lakes of heathen writers, we may be led to the pure fountain of truth contained in these sacred volumes of scripture.

3. The experiments, which now we seek or would occasion others (chiefly young students) to observe, are such as the heathen did guess at, or men out of the works of nature, by reading of poets or ancient writers, may yet doubt of: whereas the true resolution of them only depends upon the truth set down in scripture.

31

CHAP. IX.

Observations out of Poets in general, and of Dreams in particular.

1. THE most exquisite poems are but a kind of pleasant waking dream, and the art of poetry a lively imitation of some delightful visions. And as nothing comes into a man's fancy by night in dreams, but the parts or matters of it have been formerly in his outward senses; (for even when we dream of golden mountains or chimeras, the several ingredients have a real and sensible truth in them; only the frame or proportion is such, as hath no sensible example in the works of nature;) so in ancient poems, which were [illegible]tion of former, as pictures drawn fro

diately devised (as we now suppose) from the sensible experiments of those times, (as pictures drawn from a living face,) many parts and lims have a real and sensible truth, only the composition or frame is artificial and feigned, such as cannot perhaps be paralleled in every circumstance with any real events in the course of times. And albeit the events, (which the most ancient poets relate,) through long distance of time, seem most strange to us, yet is the ground (of their devices especially) such, as upon better search may always be referred to some historical truth, which yielded stuff to poetical structure, as day's spectacles do unto night's visions. This Aristotle had observed out of the practice of the best ancient poets, and prescribes it as a rule to poets, to have always an historical truth for their ground. Nor durst poets have been so audacious in their fictions at the first, seeing their profession was but either to imitate nature, or adorn a known truth; not to disparage any truth by prodigious or monstrous fictions, without any ground of like experience. For this is a fundamental law of their art;

Curandum, ut quando non semper vera profamur,
Fingentes, saltem sint illa simillima veris.

Though all's not true that feigning poets sing,
Yet nought on stage but in truth's likeness bring.

None, I think, will be so foolish as to take Homer in the literal sense, when he tells us[1] how Iris by day and Sleep by night run errands for the greater gods, and come with these and the like messages unto kings' chambers:

Οὐ χρὴ παννύχιον εὕδειν Βουληφόρον Ἄνδρα[m].
Who will by counsel guide a state,
Must early rise, and lie down late.

[1] M. Hieron. Vide Poeticorum, lib. 2. l. 305.

[m] Il. Θ. 398. et B. 20—24.

Yet with such artificial and painted plumes oftentimes are covered true and natural bodies, though the messengers be poetical and feigned; yet these kinds of night messages had an historical truth: for not the
32 poets only, but many great philosophers of the old world, have taken nocturnal presages for no dreams or fancies. Hence did Homer usurp his liberty, in feigning his kings and heroics so often admonished of their future estate by the gods: he presumed at least that these fictions might carry a show of truth in that age, wherein such admonitions by night were not unusual. And his conceit is not dissonant unto the sacred story, which bears record of like effects in ancient times, and gives the true cause of their expiration in later.

2. So usual were dreams among the patriarchs, and their interpretations so well known, that Jacob could at the first hearing interpret his young son Joseph's dream[o], *What is this dream that thou hast dreamed? Shall I and thy mother and thy brethren come indeed and fall on the ground before thee?* Nor did he take it only for a fable, no more than his brethren had done his former for a fancy; for, as the text saith, *his brethren envied him; but his father noted the saying.* And Joseph himself coming to riper years, was as expert in interpreting Pharaoh's and his servants' dreams[p]: *Then Joseph said unto him, This is the interpretation of it: The three branches are three days: within three days shall Pharaoh lift up thine head, and restore thee unto thine office: and thou shalt give Pharaoh's cup into his hand, after the old manner when thou wast his butler.* And ver. 19. *Within three days shall Pharaoh take thine head from thee, and shall hang thee on a tree, and the birds shall* [illegible] *off*

[o] Gen. xxxvii. 10.

thee. These considerations will not suffer me to mistrust divers ancient historiographers, making report how princes and fathers of families have had forewarnings of future events, either concerning themselves, their kingdoms, or posterity. Nor were all dreams among the heathens illusions of wicked spirits: for Elihu spake out of the common experience of those ancient times wherein he lived; *God speaketh once, or twice,* (that is, usually,) *and one seeth it not. In dreams and visions of the night, when sleep falleth upon men, and they sleep upon their beds; then he openeth the ears of men, even by their corrections, which he had sealed, that he might cause man to turn away from his enterprise, and that he might hide the pride of man, and keep back his soul from the pit, and that his life should not pass by the sword*[q]. A lively experiment of Elihu his observation we have, Gen. xx. 3. When Abimelech king of Gerar had taken Sarah, Abraham's wife, *God came to him in a dream by night, and said to him, Behold, thou art but dead, because of the woman which thou hast taken; for she is a man's wife.* And again, ver. 6, 7, *God said unto him by a dream, I know that thou didst this even with an upright mind; and I kept thee also that thou shouldest not sin against me: therefore suffered I not thee to touch her. Now then deliver the man his wife again; for he is a prophet, and he shall pray for thee, that thou mayest live: but if thou deliver her not again, be sure that thou shalt die the death, thou, and all that thou hast.* And Moses witnesseth the ordinary prophecy of ancient times to have consisted of dreams and visions, Numb. xii. 6, 7, 8, *If there be a prophet of the Lord amongst you, I will be known unto him by a vision, and will speak unto him by a dream. My servant Moses is not so,* (that is, he is

[q] Job xxxiii. 14—17.

no ordinary prophet,) *unto him will I speak mouth to mouth, and by vision, and not in dark words; but he shall see the similitude of the Lord.*

3. These allegations sufficiently prove that night-dreams and visions were frequent, and their observa-
33 tion (if taken in sobriety) to good use, in ancient times even amongst the nations, until they forgot, as Joseph said, that *interpretations were from God*[r], and sought to find out an art of interpreting them: then night visions did either cease, or were so mixed with delusions, that they could not be discerned; or if their events were in some sort foreseen, yet men being ignorant of God's providence, commonly made choice of such means for their avoidance, as proved the necessary occasions or provocations of the events they feared.

4. Much better was the temper of the nations before Homer's time: they, amongst other kinds of prophesyings and soothsayings, held dreams and their interpretations (as all other good gifts) to be from God. As no evil was done in the Grecian camp which the gods, in their opinion, did not cause, so Homer brings in Achilles advising Agamemnon to consult their gods' interpreters with all speed for what offence committed against them they had sent the pestilence into their camp[s].

Ἀλλ' ἄγε δή τινα μάντιν ἐρείομεν, ἢ ἱερῆα
Ἢ καὶ ὀνειροπόλον, καὶ γάρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστίν.

But to what priest or prophet shall we wend,
Or dreamer? for even dreams from Jove descend.

All those kinds of predictions had been in use amongst the heathens, as they were amongst the Israelites; albeit in later times they grew rare in both: for the increase of wickedness throughout the world, the multiplicity of business and solicitude of human affairs, and men's too much minding of politic means,

[r] Gen. xl. 8. [s] Homer Il. A, (

and other second causes of their own good, did cause the defect of true dreams and other Divine admonitions for the welfare of mankind.

5. This cause the scriptures give us, 1 Sam. xxviii. 6: *Saul* (who had followed the fashions of other nations, not the prescripts of God's word) *asked counsel of the Lord, but the Lord answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by Urim*[t], *nor by prophets.* His sins had made a separation between him and the God of Israel, who for this cause will not afford his presence to his priests or prophets that came as mediators betwixt Saul and him; much less would he vouchsafe his Spirit unto such priests or prophets as were carnally minded themselves. This was a rule so well known to the people of God, that Strabo[u] from the tradition of it (for Moses his story he had not read) reckons up this as a special point of Moses his doctrine concerning the worship of the God of Israel; his words are to this effect: "Moses taught, that such as lived chastely and uprightly should be inspired with true visions by night, and such men it was meet should consult the Divine powers in the temple by night-visions: but others, who were not so well minded ought not to intrude themselves into this sacred business; or if they would, they were to expect no true visions, but illusions or idle dreams; from God they were not to expect any." Yet may it not be denied, but that the heathens were ofttimes, by God's permission, truly resolved by dreams or oracles (though ministered by devils) of events that should come; but seldom were such resolutions for their good: so the witch, which Saul most heathen-like consulted, when God had cast him off, did procure him a true predic- 34
tion of his fearful end. This is a point wherein I could be large, but I will conclude. As the heathens' relations of sundry events, usual in ancient times, con-

[t] i. e. *by priests.*

[u] Strabo, lib. 16. p. 761.

firm the truth of the like recorded in scripture; so the scriptures give the true causes of their being, ceasing, or alteration; which the corrupt and polypragmatical disposition of later ages, without revelation from the Cause of causes and Disposer of times could never have dreamed of; as may partly appear from what hath been said of dreams, more fully from that which follows next of oracles.

CHAP. X.

Of Oracles.

I HAVE often and daily occasion (for the satisfaction of my mind in sundry questions that might otherwise have vexed me) to thank my God, that as he made me a reasonable creature, and of a reasonable creature a student or contemplator, so he did not make me a mere philosopher: (though Plato thought this deserved the greatest thanks, as being the greatest benefit bestowed upon him by his God:) but never was I more incited in this respect to bless the day wherein I was made a Christian, than when I read Plutarch's tract of the causes why oracles ceased in his time. Whether heathen oracles were all illusions of devils, or some uttered by God himself for their good, (though ofttimes without success, by reason of their curiosity and superstition,) I now dispute not. That oracles in ancient times had been frequent; that such events had been foretold by them as surpassed the skill of human reason: all records of unpartial antiquity bear uncontrollable evidence. Nor did the heathen philosophers themselves, which lived in the ages immediately following their decay, call the truth of their former use in question: but from admiration of this known change, they were incited to search the cause of their ceasing. Plutarch[v], after his acute search

[v] Lib. de Defectu Oraculorum. [Vol. ii. page 434.]

of sundry causes and accurate philosophical disputes, refers it partly unto the absence of his demoniacal spirits, which by his philosophy might die or flit from place to place, either exiled by others more potent, or upon some other dislike; and partly unto the alteration of the soil wherein oracles were seated, which yielded not exhalations of such a Divine temper as in former times it had done; and without a certain temperature of exhalations or breathing of the earth, the demoniacal spirits (he thought) could not give their oracles, more than a musician can play without an instrument. And this decay or alteration of the soil of Delphi, and like places, was (in his judgment) probable, from the like known experience in sundry rivers, lakes, and hot-baths, which in some places did quite dry up and vanish; in others, much decay for a long time, or change their course; and yet afterwards recover their former course or strength, either in the same places, or some near adjoining. Thus he expected oracles should either come in use again in Greece, or else burst out in some more convenient soil. The atheists of this age (our English homebred ones at least) have altogether as great reason to deny the decay or drying up of rivers and lakes, as to suspect the frequency of 35
oracles, or other events in times past: for neither they nor their fathers have had any more experience of the one than of the other. Plutarch's testimony (amongst many others) is authentic for the use and decay of oracles: but neither his authority, nor the reasons which he brings, can give satisfaction to any man that seeks the true cause of their defect. He refers it, indeed, in a generality to the gods; not that they wanted good-will to mankind still, but that the matter did decay which their ministers (the demoniacal spirits) did work upon, as you heard before. We may upon sure grounds with confidence affirm, that even this

decay of matter, which he dreams of, (had it conferred ought to the use of oracles,) was from God. And *he* (as the Psalmist speaks[x]) *that turneth the floods into a wilderness, and drieth up the water-springs, and maketh a fruitful land barren, for the iniquity of them that dwell therein*, did also bring, not only the oracle of Delphi, so much frequented amongst the Grecians, but all other kinds of divinations, used amongst his own people in the old world, to desolation: and by pouring out his Spirit more plenteously upon the barren hearts of us heathen, hath filled the barbarous nations of Europe with better store of rivers of comfort than the ancient Israel, his own inheritance, had ever known. Or if we desire a more immediate cause of these oracles' defect amongst the heathens, the time was come, *that the strong man's house was to be entered, his goods spoiled, and himself bound; now the prince of this world was to be cast out*[y].

Plutarch's relation of his demoniacal spirits mourning for great Pan's death, about this time, is so strange, that it might perhaps seem a tale, unless the truth of the common bruit had been so constantly avouched by ear-witnesses unto Tiberius, that it made him call a convocation of wise men, as Herod did at our Saviour's birth, to resolve him who this great Pan, late deceased, should be. Thamous, the Egyptian master, (unknown by that name to his passengers, until he answered to it at the third call of an uncouth voice, uttered *sine authore* from the land, requesting him to proclaim the news of great Pan's death, as he passed by Palodes,) was resolved to have let all pass as a fancy or idle message, if the wind and tide should grant him passage by the place appointed; but the wind failing him on a sudden, at his coming thither, he thought it but a little loss of breath to cry out aloud unto the shore as

[x] Psalm cvii. 33, 34. [y] Matt. xii. 29. John xii. 31.

he had been requested, "Great Pan is dead." The words, as Plutarch relates, were scarce out of his mouth, before they were answered with a huge noise, as it had been of a multitude, sighing and groaning at this wonderment. If these spirits had been by nature mortal, as this philosopher thinks, the death of their chief captain could not have seemed so strange; but that a far greater than the greatest of them, by whose power the first of them had his being, should die to redeem his enemies from their thraldom, might well seem a matter of wonderment and sorrow unto them. The circumstance of the time will not permit me to doubt, but that under the known name of Pan was intimated the great Shepherd of our souls, that had then laid down his life for his flock; not the feigned son of Mercury and Penelope[z], as the wise men foolishly resolved Tiberius: albeit even this base and counterfeit resolution of these heathens' coining, bears a lively image (for the exact proportion) of the Divine truth, 36 charactered out unto us in scripture. For it shall appear by sufficient testimonies, in their due time and place to be produced, that sundry general, confused, or enigmatical traditions of our Saviour's conception, birth, and pastoral office, had been spread abroad amongst the nations. Hence, instead of him, they frame a Pan, the god of shepherds; instead of the Holy Spirit, by whom he was to be conceived, they have a Mercury (their false god's feigned messenger and interpreter) for Pan's father; instead of the blessed Virgin, who was to bear our Saviour, they have a Penelope for their young god's mother. The affinity

[z] Οἷα δὲ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων παρόντων, ταχὺ τὸν λόγον ἐν Ῥώμῃ σκεδασθῆναι, καὶ τὸν Θαμοῦν γενέσθαι μετάπεμπτον ὑπὸ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος· οὕτω δὲ πιστεύσαι τῷ λόγῳ τὸν Τιβέριον, ὥστε διαπυνθάνεσθαι καὶ ζητεῖν περὶ τοῦ Πανός. εἰπάζειν δὲ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν φιλολόγους συχνοὺς ὄντας, τὸν ἐξ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Πηνελόπης γεγενημένον. Plut. ubi sup. [page 419.]

of quality and offices in all the parties here paralleled, made this transfiguration of Divine truth easy unto the heathen; and the manner of it cannot seem improbable to us, if we consider the wonted vanity of their imaginations, in transforming the glory of the immortal God into the similitude of earthly things, most dislike to it in nature and quality. Thus admitting Plutarch's story to be most true, it no way proves his intended conclusion, that the wild goatish Pan was mortal: but the scriptures set forth unto us the true cause why both he, and all the rest of that hellish crew, should at that time howl and mourn, seeing by the great Shepherd's death they were become dead in law; no more to breathe in oracles, but quite to be deprived of all such strange motions as they had seduced the ignorant world with before. All the antic tricks of Faunus, the satyrs, and such like creatures, were now put down; God had resolved to make a translation of his church; and for this cause the devils were enforced to dissolve their old chapels, and seek a new form of their liturgy or service. Whilst the Israelites were commanded to consult with God's priests, prophets, or other oracles, before they undertook any difficult war or matters of moment, Satan had his priests and oracles as much frequented by heathen princes upon the like occasions. So Strabo[a] witnesseth, that the ancient heathen, in their chief consultations of state, did rely more upon oracles than human policy. If Moses were forty days in the mount, to receive laws from God's own mouth; Minos[b] will be Jupiter's auditor in his den or cave for the same purpose. In emulation of Shiloh, or Kirjath-jearim, whilst the ark of God remained there, the heathens had Dodona; and for Jerusalem they had Delphi, garnished with rich donatives of foreign princes as

[a] Lib. citato. [b] Plat. in Minoe. [Vol. ii. p. 319.]

well as Grecians; so magnified also by Grecian writers, as if it had been the intended parallel of the holy city. Insomuch that Plutarch [c] thinks the story, commonly received of that oracle's original, to be less probable, because it ascribes the invention of it to chance, and not to the Divine providence, or favour of the gods, when as it had been such a direction unto Greece in undertaking wars, in building cities, and in times of pestilence and famine. Whether these effects in ancient times had been always from the information of devils, (as I said before,) I will not dispute. That this oracle had been often consulted, it is evident; and that oftentimes the devils deluded such as consulted them, is as manifest. But since that saying of the prophet was fulfilled, *I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts* [d]; since the knowledge of truth hath been so plenteously made known and revealed, and the principles of religion so much dilated and enlarged by discourse, the Devil hath chosen proud hearts 37
and busy brains for his oracles; seeking by their subtilty of wit and plausibility of discourse to counterfeit and corrupt the form of wholesome doctrine, as he did of old the truth of God's visible oracles by his apish imitations.

3. This conclusion then is evident, both from the joint authority of all ancient writers, as well profane as sacred, that God in former times had spoken unto the world by dreams, visions, oracles, priests, and prophets; and that such revelations had been, amongst the Israelites, as the stars or night-lamps; amongst the heathen as meteors, fiery apparitions, or wandering comets, for their direction in the time of darkness and ignorance. But when both the sensible experience of our times, and the relations of former ages, most

[c] Plut. ibid. [p. 418.] [d] Jer. xxxi. 33.

unpartial in this case, have sufficiently declared unto us, that all the former twinkling lights are vanished; the reason of this alteration, I see, men might seek by natural causes, as Plutarch did; but this doubt is cleared, and the question truly resolved by our apostle in these words, *At sundry times and in divers manners God spake in the old time to our fathers by the prophets; in these last days he hath spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath made heir of all things, by whom also he made the world; who, being* (as the apostle there saith) *the brightness of his glory*[e], hath put the former lights, which shined in darkness, to flight. The consideration hereof confirms the truth of our apostle to all such as are not blinded in heart, where he saith, that *the night was past, and the day was come:* for the sudden vanishing of all former lights, about this time (assigned by Christians) of our Saviour's birth, abundantly evince that this was the *Sun of righteousness, which* (as the prophet had foretold) *should arise unto the world*[f]. It was the light which had lately appeared in the coasts of Jewry, then approaching Italy, Greece, and other of these western countries, which did cause these sons of darkness (the demoniacal spirits) to flit westward, as darkness itself doth from the face of the sun, when it begins to appear in the east. And Plutarch tells us, that "after they had forsaken the country of Greece, they haunted little desert islands near adjoining to the coasts of this our Brittany; where they raised such hideous storms and tempests, as navigators report they have done of late in that island called by their own name[g]." Both reports had their times of truth; and the like may be yet true in some places more remote from commerce of Christians. But the heathen (as heathenish minded

[e] Heb. i. 1. [f] Malach. iv. 2. [g] Plut. ibid. [p. 419.]

men do even to this day) sought the reasons of such alterations from sensible agents, or second causes, which have small affinity with those effects; or if they had, yet the disposition of such causes depends wholly upon his will, who, though most immutable in himself, changeth times and seasons at his pleasure. And wheresoever the light of his gospel cometh, it verifieth that saying of our apostle, *Ecce vetera transierunt, et nova facta sunt omnia:* and new times yield new observations, which cannot be taken aright, nor their causes known, without especial directions from this rule of life. By which it plainly appeareth, that the second main period of the world since the flood, (whose beginning we account from the promulgation of the law, and the distinction of the Israelites from other people, until the time of grace,) yields great alteration and matter of much different observation from the former. And in the declining, or later part of this 38
second age, we have described unto us, as it were, an ebb or stanch in the affairs of the kingdom of Israel, going before the general fulness of time: after which we see the tenor of all things in Jewry, and of other kingdoms of the world, quite changed. But the particulars of this change I intend to handle hereafter: I now would prosecute my former observations of the old world.

4. Continually, whilst we compare ancient poets or stories with the book of Genesis, and other volumes of sacred antiquity; these sacred books give us the pattern of the waking thoughts of ancient times. And the heathen poems, with other fragments of ethnic writings, (whose entire bodies, though not so aged as the former, being but the works of men, have perished,) contain the dreams and fancies which succeeding ages by hearsay and broken reports had conceived, concern-

ing the same or like matters. So no doubt had God disposed that the delight which men took in the uncertain glimpse of truth in the one, should inure their minds the better to observe the light which shineth in the other; and that the unstable variety of the one should prepare men's hearts more steadfastly to embrace the truth and stability of the other, when it should be revealed unto them. And as any man almost, if he be observant of his former actions, cogitations, and occurrents, may find out the occasion how dreams (though in themselves oftentimes prodigious, absurd, and foolish) come into his brain or fancy; so may any judicious man, from the continual and serious observation of this register of truth, find out the original, at least, of all the principal heads or common places of poetical fictions, or ancient traditions, which cannot be imagined they should ever have come into any man's fancy, unless from the imitation of some historical truth, or the impulsion of real events stirring up admiration. For admiration (as shall afterward appear) did breed, and imitation spoil, the Divine art of poetry.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Apparitions of the Heathen Gods and their Heroics.

1. WERE all the works of ancient poets utterly lost, and no tradition or print of their inventions left, so as the art of poetry were to begin anew, and the theatre to be raised from the ground; the most curious wits in this or near adjoining countries, might for many generations to come beat their brains and sift their fancies, until they had run over all the forms and compositions which the whole alphabet of their phantasms could afford, before they could ever dream of bringing the gods in visible shape upon the stage, or interlacing

their poems with their often apparitions. And unless ensuing times should yield matter of much different observations from that which these present do, this invention would be accounted dull, and find but sorry and unwelcome entertainment of the auditors or spectators. That the like invention finds some acceptation now, it is because men's minds have been possessed with this conceit from the tradition of their fore- 39
fathers. For many inventions, which in succession cease to be of like use and consequence as they were in former times, become yet matters of delight and sport unto posterity; as shooting continues still an exercise of good recreation to us of this land, because it hath been a practice of admirable use and consequence unto our worthy ancestors. But whence came this conceit of the gods appearing in sensible shapes, into Homer's and other ancient poets' heads? How became it a common place of poetical invention, whilst poetry itself was but beginning? Surely as God had spoken in divers manners unto the old world, so had he appeared in divers forms, perhaps, not only to the Israelites, but unto other nations also, before the distinction of this people from them; howsoever, as the devils had counterfeited God's manner of speaking to his people, so did they the manner of his, or his angels' apparitions.

2. Such apparitions of God or his angels, the sacred story tells us, were frequent, not only in Abraham's, Isaac's, Jacob's, and the patriarchs' times, but in the ages immediately going before the times that Homer wrote of; so that the traditions of these undoubted experiments (if Greece or Asia had not the like in Homer's time) might then be fresh and unquestionable. So God appeared to Moses in the bush [h], his angel to Balaam [i], to Gideon [k], to Manoah and his wife [l]. The like

[h] Exod. iii. 2. [i] Numb. xxii. 22. [k] Judg. vi. 11. [l] Judg. xiii. 3.

apparitions in times following were more rare in Israel; not that the date of God's or his angels' extraordinary presence was utterly expired, but their presence was seldom apprehended, by reason of that people's blindness of heart, and want of prophets' eyes. For Elisha's servant had not seen so much as a glimpse of any angel, albeit a mighty host of these heavenly soldiers had pitched their tents about him, unless his master, by his prayer to God, had opened his eyes. His master and he may be a perfect emblem of the heavenly and worldly wise. The servant did see the host of the Assyrians as clearly, perhaps more clearly, at the least he descried it sooner than his master did: *And when the servant of the man of God arose early, to go out, behold, an host compassed the city with horses and chariots. Then his servant said unto him, Alas, master! how shall we do? And he answered, Fear not: for they that be with us are more than they that be with them. Then Elisha prayed, and said, Lord open his eyes, that he may see. And the Lord opened the eyes of the servant; and he looked: and, behold, the mountain was full of horses and chariots round about Elisha*[m]. This place, and that other of the angel's appearing to Balaam, may instruct us, that such apparitions might be conspicuous to some one or few whom they concerned, though not to others present with them: and that the eyes of some, which were open enough to worldly spectacles, might be close shut to these celestial visions, as the ears of others have been in like case. For St. Paul only *heard the voice* which cried aloud unto him, though *those that were with him saw the light*[n] that shone at his conversion, and were astonished at it. From the like experience about Greece or Asia in his own, or the usual tradition of

[m] 2 Kings vi. 15, &c.

[n] Acts xxii. 9.

the like in former times, did Homer bring in Pallas appearing thus to Achilles:

> Οἵῳ φαινομένη, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὔτις ὁρᾶτο°.
> Of all the rest, not one but he
> The goddess did, though present, see.

3. As the end and purpose which Homer assigns for these apparitions of his gods, so are both these, and many other particular circumstances of his gods assisting the ancient heroics, such as might justly breed offence to any serious reader, if a man should avouch them in earnest, or seek to persuade him to expect more than mere delight in them. Yet I cannot think that he would have feigned such an assistance, unless the valour of some men in former times had been extraordinary, and more than natural. Which supernatural excellency in some before others, could not proceed but from a supernatural cause. And thus far his conceit agrees with scripture; that there were more heroical spirits in old times than in later, and more immediate directions from God for managing of most wars. And from the experience hereof, the ancient poets are more copious in their hyperbolical praises of their worthies, than the discreeter sort of later poets durst be, whilst they wrote of their own times. Not that the ancient were more licentious, or less observant of decorum in this kind of fiction than the other; but because the manifestation of a Divine power in many of their victories was more seen in ancient than in later times; so that such fictions, as to the ancient people might seem (by reason of these extraordinary events then frequent) very probable, would have been censured as ridiculous and apish in succeeding ages, wherein no like events were manifested. The like extraordinary manifestation of God's power in

° Iliad A. [198.]

battle, and of this heroical valour inspired into men, we see most frequent in the ancient stories of the Bible, as in the books of Moses, Joshua, Judges, Samuel; some one man in those times was worth a thousand others; but in the histories of the later kings of Judah and Israel, such extraordinary heroical spirits are very rare. [o]One or two miraculous victories Israel had in Elisha's, and Judah in Hezekiah's time: but by the power of angels: no extraordinary valour of any man was much seen in them. And these few excepted, their battles, their victories, and manner of fight, come near unto the nature of other nations in the same time. Generally from Rehoboam's time the histories of Judah and Israel fall much more within the compass of modern and ordinary observation, than did the events of former ages. And if we had any perfect register of such matters as had fallen out in other nations and kingdoms during the time of Moses, Joshua, and the Judges, we should find them much more consonant to the sacred stories of these times, than are any histories of later times, or of former ages, wherein any historiographer of better account did live. And albeit I cannot excuse Herodotus and Ctesias, either from affecting fabulous narrations, or too great facility in admitting the superstitious report or hearsay traditions of others: yet is men's mistrust of them

[o] The reader may add the like observation of giants frequent in the times of Moses and Joshua, but afterwards seldom mentioned in the sacred story. A representation of which historical truth we have in two or three speeches of Nestor, [Iliad α'. 272. η'.156.] in which he intimates that in his youth (which was about Joshua's time) there had been many giants and men of stature and strength unusual in the time of the Trojan wars. His Cyclops, for the manner of their habitation and other qualities, are live pictures of the Anakims expelled Hebron, and the mountain countries of Judah, by Joshua. Vid. Masium in cap. xi. Josuæ, ver. 21. et August. De Civit. Dei, lib. xv. cap. 9. et Vivem. in Comment.

usually more universal than in scholastic discretion and observation it need to be; only because the like events have not been usual in any age throughout these parts of the world, since the times whereof they wrote. No marvel if many since that time suspect the signs and wonders of the old world, when as the Psalmist, that lived before most heathen writers that are extant, (besides such as relate like strange events,) complains, Ps. lxxiv. 9, *We see not our signs: there is not one prophet more.* Generally after Judah had been captived by the Gentiles, that and other kingdoms lie as it were under one parallel, and may almost be 41
measured by the same line: the elevation of the Jew and Gentile is muchwhat the same, and the same celestial observation may serve for both. The priests after their return from captivity were forbidden to *eat of the most holy thing, till there arose up a priest with Urim and Thummim*, Ezra ii. 63. "But either no such did arise at all, from the erection of the second temple until Christ's time; or if any did, it was but to give this people a farewell of God's extraordinary speaking unto them, either by priests or prophets." Josephus confesseth, that "revelations by Urim and Thummim did finally cease 200 years before his time[p]." But more probable is the opinion of others, that this, as all other kind of prophecies, and many extraordinary signs of God's power and presence (sometime most frequent in that nation) did cease with that generation which returned from captivity, or immediately after the finishing of the second temple: as if God during all that time had appointed a fast or vigil, as an introduction to the time of fulness, Joel ii. 28. wherein *their sons and daughters should prophesy, and their old men dream dreams, and their young*

[p] Antiq. lib. iii. cap. 9. [aliis cap. 8. p. 164.]

men see visions, and his Spirit should be poured out on all flesh; as well upon the servant as the master; as well upon the Gentile as the Jew, Mal. i. 11. For this cause, as I said, God had enjoined this long fast in Judah, to humble the Jew, and teach him that he was no more his God than the Gentiles'; and imposed silence to all his prophets, disinuring his chosen Israel from his wonted call; that so this people might grow more mild, and apt to herd together with his other flock, now to be brought into the same fold, wherein both might jointly hear the great Shepherd's voice. As God elsewhere had threatened, so it came to pass, that visions had ceased in Judah, before the rising of the Roman empire; and likely it is that presages by dreams, or like means, formerly usual among the ancient heathen, did either altogether determine or much decrease in many nations about the same time. For which reasons the Romans of that age, being the only wise men of the world, (given too much by nature unto secular policy,) did give less credit to the relations of the ancient Greeks, or the events registered by their ancestors in their own country. The like incredulity remaineth in most of us, but may be easily removed by discovering the root of it.

CHAP. XII.

The Reasons of our mistrusting of Antiquities.

1. IT is the common practice of men to measure matters of ancient times by observation of the times and place wherein they live; as commonly we pass our censure on other men's actions and intentions, according to our own resolutions and secret purposes in like cases. And besides this general occasion of mistaking other men's actions, and events of other times, every particular sort of men seek to assign causes of things suitable unto their proper faculties. The natural phi-

losopher striveth to reduce all effects to matter and form, or some sensible quality; the mathematician, to abstract forms or figures, or insensible influences; the politician thinks no alteration in public states or private men's affairs falls out, but from some politic cause or purpose of man: and whilst in the annals of antiquities he reads of sundry events surpassing the reach or skill of man's invention, or contrary to the ordinary course of nature, he attributes all unto the simplicity 42
or credulity of their ancestors. Albeit if we should search the true cause of their credulity in yielding assent unto such strange reports, it will easily confute the error of posterity; for this credulity in such particulars, could not have been so great in their ancestors, unless their minds had been first inclined to the general, from the tradition of their predecessors. But why their forefathers should either have invented such strange reports, or be so inclinable to believe them; if we search into the depth or first spring of this persuasion, we cannot imagine any other cause, but the real and sensible experience of such strange events as they reported to posterity. This did enforce belief upon the first progenitors of any nation; and from the fulness of this persuasion or actual belief in them, was bred this credulity or aptness in posterity to believe the like, which yet in success of time did by little and little wear out. It is great simplicity and uncharitable credulity in us, to think that either the most ancient or middle ages of the world, were generally so simple, credulous, or apt to believe every thing, as some would make them. It had been as hard a matter to have persuaded men of those times that there were no gods, no Divine power or providence, as it would be to persuade the modern atheists that there is an almighty power which created all things, governeth and dis-

poseth of all things to his glory. The most politic atheist now alive is as credulous in his kind as the simplest creature in the old world was; and will yield his assent unto the epicures' or other brutish philosophers' conclusions, upon as light reasons as they did their belief unto any fable concerning the power or providence of the gods; the reason of both their credulities in two contrary kinds is the same. The often manifestation of an extraordinary power in battles, or presence in oracles, and sensible documents of revenge from heaven, made the one prone to entertain any report of the gods, though never so strange; and the want of like sensible signs or documents of the same power in our days (whilst all men's minds are still set upon politic means and practices for their own good) doth make the other so credulous and apt to assent to any politic discourse, and so averse from belief of the prophets or sacred writers, which reduce all effects to the First Cause. But this we cannot do so immediately as the ancient did; because God useth his wisdom more in the managing of this politic world, than he did in times of old; and men naturally are less apprehensive of his wisdom than of his power; so that his present ways are not so obvious at the first sight unto sense as sometimes they were, though more conspicuous to sanctified reason now at this day than before, and the manner of his proceeding more apt to confirm true belief in such as follow his prescripts, than ever it was. For the same reason were the ancient Israelites more prone to idolatry than their successors were, after the erection of the second temple, or either of them were at any time to serve their God. For the sensible signs and bewitching enticements of some extraordinary powers, mistaken for Divine, were then most common; and God's wonders and miracles

grew more rare, because they swerved from his commandments. What Jew was there, almost, in the time of the Maccabees, but would have given his body for an holocaust, rather than sacrifice to any of the heathen gods? the undoubted experience of long woe and misery for their former idolatry made them so averse from this sin. And the certain signs of the Messiah's approach did support them from falling into atheism. 43 Such violence as these later willingly suffered at the hands of heathen princes, rather than they would consent unto idolatry, their forefathers in the wilderness were as ready to offer unto Aaron, for not furthering them in their idolatrous imaginations. So we read, Exod. xxxii, when God had but for a while withdrawn his extraordinary presence from them, and Moses, his instrument in working miracles, had been but a short time out of their sight; they complain he tarried long, *and gather themselves together against Aaron, and say unto him, Up, and make us gods to go before us; for of this Moses, the man that brought us out of the land of Egypt, we know not what is become of him.* There was no danger lest they should turn atheists; this was a sin unknown in that age. And this people had experience enough of extraordinary powers in Egypt, which they took for gods. So far are they from thinking there was no God that guides the world, that they thought there were many; and if one did withdraw his presence, another might serve to conduct them: one they must have, otherwise all help of man was in vain. As Jannes and Jambres had withstood Moses' miracles with their magic, so had the devils their masters sought to work wonders about the Egyptian idols, which did stupify the people. For albeit their wonders were not so great as God's, yet were they more delightful to their outward s

for their service for the most part was sport and play. They were never dainty to shew their juggling tricks for their own advantage; always pliable to the humours and lusts of men; whereas the omnipotent majesty of God would have all to frame their lives and actions according to his written laws, which might not be altered or misinterpreted at the pleasure of men; nor would he vouchsafe to work his miracles in all ages, or unto such as were unworthy spectators of them. Thus had Satan his oracles and sacrifices oft-times better frequented than God had his: as in these times, such preachers as will accommodate themselves unto the people's humours are most frequented, but such as hold this sin as sacrilege and dishonour to their God, are despised and set at nought. And though we may not mitigate Aaron's fault, nor diminish these Israelites' transgression, (as their foolish posterity doth,) by transferring the blame of this idolatrous fact upon the magicians which followed the host of Israel out of Egypt; yet it is more than probable from the circumstance of the text, (besides the tradition of the ancient Hebrews,) that there was some magical or demoniacal skill practised in the sudden moulting of this Egyptian god, whence this people's superstition towards it was increased. [q] The heathen princes of those times were no babies, as wary (we may presume) upon what occasion to forego their children, as misers are to part with money: and yet these were wrested from them, and their blood shed by their own hands, to pacify the rage of powers then manifestly known for supernatural. But when both God's wonders grew rare, and the Devil's tricks waxed scant, either by restraint from above, or of their own free choice, as if by their long continuance they had grown out of request; they see

[q] Plutarch de Defectu Oracul. p. 742. Ed. H. Steph.

it more boot to draw the politic world unto atheism, which never did flourish until the rising of the Roman monarchy. Unto this main inconvenience of the late Romans, and other worldly wise men's distrust of wonders past, this second mischief did accrue, that sundry writers of those times did hold it a part of their profession, to fill their books with such stuff as they found in ancient stories, as if their histories or poems had not been current, without as many parts or 44
heads of invention as others had in former ages. And this experience of counterfeit wonders meeting with the want of experience of any true wonders of that time, did concur as form and privation for the producing of infidelity in men's minds already disposed to this evil by secular policy. And these were enough to carry our minds below the lowest degree of any credulity, or suspicion of truth in like reports, unless the scripture did forewarn us of this guile and policy of Satan, which we may the better prevent, if we diligently observe, first, the difference of times and places; secondly, how strange fables and lying wonders receive being from notable and admirable decayed truths, as baser creatures do life, from the dissolution of more noble bodies.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Diversity of Events in different Ages.

1. THE diverse characters of different times rightly taken, give us as easy and perfect a crisis between the fictions of later, and the true annals of former ages, as out of ordinary discretion men usually make between foolish travellers' reports of great wonders in Spain or France, and the judicious records of uncouth sights and strange events in the East and West Indies. And we have altogether as little reason to deny either the general truth of strange events recorded by the a

cient, or the prototypes of poetical inventions in former times, for the want of like experience in later, as we have to discredit Benzos Martyrs, or other late navigators' observations of the East and West Indies; because many who have travelled France, Spain, and Italy, while they make true relations of their travels, relate no such event as the Indies afford many. And yet gulls, when they fly abroad, will relate (among such as know them not) as strange matters of near adjoining countries, as he that hath compassed the utmost ends of the world. Now it were a great folly to discredit all late navigators for the absurdity of some few gulls, and as great madness it were to disparage all ancient stories for the absurd and preposterous imitation of later writers, against all experience of later times. For diversity of times yields as great diversity of observations, as the diversity or distance of place; only this is the difference—daily observation yields experiments of this diversity in place, whereas the word of God alone, which endures for ever, giveth us the sure rules and grounds of alterations in the events of different ages. And yet in many remote places lately made known unto the inhabitants of Europe, such strange events as antiquity hath told us were sometimes frequent in these countries which we now inhabit, are not at this day altogether unusual. And the face of time is now there muchwhat such as the ancient registers of times have pourtrayed unto us; as if the affairs and fashion of this visible world were framed according to some invisible patterns or supercelestial characters, which varying their aspect in revolutions of time, did now (by reflecting that force upon those remote countries, which they did on these near adjoining in times past) produce the like shape and fashion of things there as they have done here. And those places shall in time

come to the selfsame temper and disposition which we now enjoy: and the posterity of such as now live there shall hereafter suspect the undoubted stories of our times concerning their ancestors, as we do many ancient stories of Jewry, Syria, Asia, or our own countries, for want of like modern experiments in our land.

2. For the better rectifying of our assent, which must be by the right balancing of credulity and mistrust, it shall not be amiss to consider, that, besides these general diversities of times and places, particular kingdoms and nations have their several ages proportionable to infancy, youth, virility, and old age in men. Nor is the period either of the whole age, or the several parts thereof, one and the same in all, but varies in divers kingdoms, as the course of life, or several ages, do in divers men. Some kingdoms bear age well unto a thousand; some, to six hundred years: others break and decay in half that time. Again, as in the course of man's life diversity of ages requires divers manners or conditions; so, in the same people or nation some events are usual, as best befitting them in that degree of their growth which answers to youth or infancy, which seldom or never fall out in that part of their age which answers unto mature or old age in men, because not convenient for their constitution then; and yet the want of like experience makes them as distrustful and incredulous of what formerly had been, as old men are forgetful of their own disposition or temper in youth. Generally, when the fulness of any nation's iniquity (wherein their decrepit age consisteth) is come, they grow more and more incredulous: so as they verify the Latin proverb concerning the disposition of old men: *Nullus senex veneratur Jovem:* more true of states;

> As they grow old,
> Their zeal grows cold.

3. As the world was redeemed by Christ, so do nations begin a new computation of their ages from their admission to Christianity. Some were come to youth or virility in that profession, before others were born in Christ: as Asia and Africa, for the most part, were Christians before Europe. Again, the ancient inhabitants in some provinces had been Christians, long before other people that afterward subdued them, and lived in their countries: as the Britons in this island had been long partakers of God's mercy in Christ before the Saxons; and the ancient Gauls before the Franks, which afterward seated themselves in their habitations. Generally, miracles were usual in the infancy of Christianity, as we read in ecclesiastical stories: nor can it be certainly gathered when they did generally cease. To say they endured no longer than the primitive church, can give no universal satisfaction, save only to such as think it enough for all the world to have the light of the gospel locked up in the chancel of some one glorious church: for some churches were but in the prime or change, when others were full of Christian knowledge. The use of miracles at the same instant was befitting the one, not the other. For God usually speaks to new-born children in Christ by miracles or sensible declarations of his power, mercy, or justice: as parents deter their children from evil in
46 tender years by the rod, or other sensible signs of their displeasure; and allure them to goodness with apples, or other like visible pledges of their love: but when they come to riper years, and are capable of discourse, or apprehensive of wholesome admonitions, they seek to rule them by reason. Proportionably to this course of parents doth God speak to his church: in her infancy, (wheresoever planted,) by sensible documents of his power; in her maturity, by the ordin-

ary preaching of his word, which is more apt to ripen and confirm true Christian faith than any miracles are, so men would submit their reason unto the rules set down in scripture, and unpartially examine all events of time by them, as elsewhere, God willing, we shall shew.

4. These grounds, well considered, will move any sober spirit at the least to suspend his assent, and not suffer his mind to be hastily overswayed with absolute distrust of all such miracles, as either our writers report to have been wrought in this our land at the Saxons' first coming hither, or the French historiographers record in the first conversion of the Franks, or in the prime of that church.

5. And the Franks and Saxons before their conversion to Christianity were muchwhat of that temper, in respect of their present posterity, as Greece was of in Homer's, or Italy in the days of Romulus, in respect of Cicero's or Plutarch's time: nor would I deny but that admonitions by dreams were usual amongst them, as they had been amongst the Eastern nations.

And without prejudice to many noble patriots and worthy members of Christ this day living in that famous kingdom of France, I should interpret that dream of Bassina[r], queen unto Childerick the first, of the present state of France: in which the last part of that threefold vision is more truly verified than it was ever in the lineal succession of Childerick and Bassina, or any of the Merovingian or Carlovingian families.

6. The vision was of three sorts of beasts: the first,

[r] See Aimoinus (aliter Annonius) de Gestis Francorum, lib. 1. c. 7. et 8. in the Corpus Franciæ Histor. primi [illegible] Galli, 1613. Hanoviæ.

lions and leopards; the second, bears and wolves; the third, of dogs or lesser creatures, biting and devouring one another. The interpretation which Bassina made of it was registered certain hundred years ago: that these troops of vermin or lesser creatures did signify a people without fear or reverence of their princes, so pliable and devoutly obsequious to follow the peers or potentates of that nation in their factious quarrels, that they should involve themselves in inextricable tumults to their own destruction.

7. Had this vision been painted only with this general notification, that it was to be emblematically understood of some state in Europe: who is he that can discern a picture by the known party whom it represents, but could have known as easily that this was a map of those miseries that lately have befallen France; whose bowels were almost rent and torn with civil and domestic broils? God grant her closed wounds fall not to bleed afresh again. And that her people be not so eagerly set to bite and tear one another, (like dogs or other testy creatures,) until all become a prey to wolves and bears, or other great ravenous beasts; which seek not so much to tear or rent in heat of revenge, as lie in wait continually to devour and swallow with unsatiate greediness the whole bodies of mighty kingdoms, and to die her robes, that rides as queen of monsters upon that many-headed beast, with streams
47 of blood that issue from the bodies squeezed and crushed between their violent teeth; yea, even with the royal blood of kings and princes. Many such examples of admonitions by dreams and other extraordinary signs of future woe or calamities, both foretold and fulfilled many hundred years since Bassina and Childerick's days, I could bring, which might confirm the historical truth of the like mentioned in scriptures

to any civil heathen, as they have enforced such as we most suspect for atheists to acknowledge a Divine power or providence in them. And I know not what reason any professor of truth can have to deny the like presignifications in later times upon extraordinary occasions, or in some transmutations of kingdoms; if he have so much religion as not to doubt of Nebuchadnezzar's vision. But of such signs, (whether good or ominous,) and of their lawful use, elsewhere. Of the use of prophecies amongst the heathen and barbarous people, and of that offence which some take at such as seem to give any credit to them, as if this were against the truth of scriptures, we may perhaps take occasion to speak, when we come to unfold the divers kinds of prophecies amongst the Jews with their interpretations. Thus much may suffice for the removal of that prejudice which atheists, infidels, and other worldly-wise men have of their ancestors' credulity or fabulosity, which were not incident to primary antiquity, but unto ages in succession nearer to those times wherein wonders had been plentiful: as commonly the braggadocian humour doth haunt the degenerate race of worthy ancestors, before their posterity come to be sneaks or peasants, which in the race of private persons answers in proportion to infidelity, the common symptom of decrepit age in kingdoms.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the original and right Use of Poetry, with the Manner of its Corruption by later Poets.

1. THE positive truth, which (in the removal of impediments and offences) hath been made more than probable in the former discourse, may yet be made more evident from more particular observations concerning the manner how monstrous fables have de-

scended from true wonders: which will best appear by setting down the original and right use of poetry.

2. A poet being (as his name imports) a *maker*, according to the Latin proverb, is not made by art, but framed to this Divine faculty by nature. Not that any amongst the Romans became poets on a sudden: but that many very fruitful wits in all other kinds of learning, could not be forced by any industry, art, or culture, to such a temper as was befitting this plant of Eden, which groweth not in any modern breast without more tender care and greater cherishing than any other slip or branch of the tree of knowledge; and yet when all is done seldom comes to any proof, unless it borrow grounds from the ancient: as tender plants
48 can hardly be removed from a better soil to a worse without some of the earth wherein they naturally grow. Were arts to begin anew, poetry, which was the first and most common among the ancient, in all probability would spring the last, and grow the slowest amongst us. Their wits of old were not naturally or generally better than ours: why then was the way to Parnassus, which unto us, using all help of art and imitation, is laborious and hard to ascend, so plain and easy to them, without any guide or help; all other artificial learning being then either unknown or very scant? Such knowledge or observations as they had or cared for, they knew not otherwise how to convey unto posterity, than by poetical numbers and resemblances. He is a poet by nature (saith that excellent poet and divine philosopher) "that is apt to be ravished with the true and native beauty of such objects as are represented to his senses, and can express his conceit by such pleasant resemblances, as often as he shall have occasion to utter his mind in writing or set speech." This inclination or disposition is as the

ground or soil wherein poetry doth naturally grow, whether in ancient or modern breasts; but the ancient had this advantage: the fashion of the world in their times was more apt to ravish their thoughts with admiration; wonderful events were then frequent: nor did their frequency abate, but rather increase wonderment, because their variety was great, and the apprehension of invisible or supernatural powers in them usual. So that admiration was then enforced upon men, and the breasts of such as diligently observed these events, or were any way disposed by nature to the faculty, were inspired with lively and sublimate affections, apt to vent themselves in such poetical phrase and resemblances as we cannot reach unto, unless we raise our invention by art and imitation, and stir up admiration by meditation and study. And because neither our senses are moved with any extraordinary effects of God's power, nor our minds bent to observe the ways of his wisdom, so as we might be stricken with true admiration of them, we have fewer good sacred poems than of any other kind. But as the ancients' chief learning did consist of poetry, so the excellency of their poetry was chiefly seen in the proper and native subject of this faculty, that is, in matters of sacred use or observation: whence the title of *vates* did descend unto secular or profane poets, which retained the number and manner of speech used by the former.

3. That such as were *vates* indeed were taught the sublimity of speech by admiration of extraordinary events, may be confirmed by the historical narrations of the sacred story; wherein poetical hymns or songs are the usual consequents of strange or wonderful events. As, Judges v, after the victory gotten over Sisera, *Then sang Deborah and Barak the son of*

Abinoam, the same day, saying, Praise ye the Lord, &c. So likewise Hannah, after the Lord had heard her prayer, and taken away her barrenness, burst out into the like poetical hymn, 1 Sam. ii. So did the blessed virgin upon her cousin Elizabeth's salutation, and John Baptist springing in her womb, take up her song, Luke i. 46, *My soul doth magnify the Lord,* &c. So doth Zachary, John Baptist's father, take up his prophecy, Luke i. 68. and Simeon, Luke ii. 28. So likewise after the manifestation of God's wonders in
49 the Red sea, all his people (as if they had been baptized in a sacred Helicon) presently turn poets, Exod. xv. 1. And again, Numb. xxi. after they had returned to Beer, the well which Moses had opened out of the hard rock with his rod, Israel (as if they had washed their mouths in Hippocrene) had their voices tuned to an high strain of poetry; *Then Israel sang this song, Rise up,* WELL; *sing ye unto it: the princes digged this well, the captains of the people digged it, even with their staves.*

4. That the frequent use of poetry among the ancient heathen did arise from like occasions, may be gathered from Strabo[s]; who from antiquity, better known to him than us, avoucheth it as unquestionable that all other set speech, whether historical or rhetorical, was but the progeny of poetry, falling in latter times from its wonted state and dignity; whereas the ancients knew no other branch of artificial or set speech, but only poetry. Albeit to speak properly, it was (in respect of the efficient or impulsive causes) rather superartificial, than natural or artificial; and rhetoric and history only artificial. This opinion will not seem strange, if we consider that the wiser sort in those times did commend such matters only to writing

[s] Strabo, lib. i. fol. 15.

as might inflame posterity with devotion and love of virtue. For poetry, as the same author tells us, was accounted by antiquity *prima quædam philosophia*, a kind of sacred moral philosophy, appropriated, as it seems, at the first, to the relation or representation of supernatural events or Divine matters only; of which the most ancient had best experience, and were impelled to communicate them to posterity, elevated (as is observed before) by the excellency of the object, to this celestial kind of speech, which is most apt to ravish younger wits, as itself was bred of admiration. This use of poetry appears in some fragments of most ancient poets, in their kind proportionable to the book of Psalms, of Job, and the songs of Moses, the only pattern of true poesy; whose subjects, usually, are the wonderful works of God manifested unto men. Some degenerate footsteps of these holy men, the heathen, about Homer's time, did observe; using their poets and musicians for planting modesty and chastity amongst other virtues in their auditors. [t] So Agamemnon left the musical poet as guardian to Clytemnestra, who continued chaste and loyal until Ægisthus got the poet conveyed into an uninhabited island. For this reason was poetry[u] taught children first throughout the Grecian cities, as Moses had commanded the Israelites to teach their children his divine poem, Deut. xxxi. 19, and xxxii. 46. And they much wrong that divine philosopher[x], that think he was any further an enemy

[t] ——— (*φρέσι γὰρ κέχρητ' ἀγαθῇσι·*
Πὰρ γὰρ ἔην καὶ ἀοιδὸς ἀνὴρ, ᾧ πόλλ' ἐπέτελλεν
Ἀτρείδης, Τροίηνδε κιὼν εἴρυσθαι ἄκοιτιν.)
Ἀλλ' ὅτε δή μιν μοῖρα θεῶν ἐπέδησε δαμῆναι,
Δὴ τότε τὸν μὲν ἀοιδὸν ἄγων ἐς νῆσον ἐρήμην
Κάλλιπεν οἰωνοῖσιν ἔλωρ καὶ κύρμα γενέσθαι·
Τὴν δ' ἐθέλων ἐθέλουσαν ἀνήγαγεν ὅνδε δόμονδε. Hom. Odys. [Γ. 266.]

[u] Strabo, lib. i. fol. 15.

[x] Plat. lib. x. de Repub.

unto the sacred faculty, than only to seek the reformation of it, by reducing it to its first natural use, which was not mere delight, as Eratosthenes dreamed, rightly taxed by Strabo[y] for this error. That might perhaps be true of the comical Latin poets;

> [z] *Poeta quum primum animum ad scribendum appulit,*
> *Id sibi negoti credidit solum dari,*
> *Populo ut placerent quas fecisset Fabulas.*
>
> When first the poet bent his wits to write,
> The only mark he aim'd at was delight.

Which notwithstanding had neither been the only nor chief use; no end at all, but rather an adjunct of poetry amongst the ancient; by the wiser and better sort of whom nothing was apprehended, at least approved as truly delightful, which was not also honest and of profitable use for bettering life and manners. The law of nature being then less defaced, they could read it without spelling, and comprehend all the three elements of goodness jointly under one entire conceit, as we do the product of divers letters or syllables in one word, without examination of their several value apart. But when the union of this Trinity, wherein the nature of perfect goodness consists, was once dissolved in men's hearts, and delight had found a peculiar issue without mixture of honesty or utility; the desire of becoming popular poets did breed the bane of true poesy; and those sacred numbers, which had been as amulets against vice, became incentives unto lust. Or if we would but search the native use of poetry by that end which men not led awry by hopes of applause, or gain, or other external respects, but directed rather by the internal impulsion of this faculty, and secret working of their souls, do aim at;

[y] [Ibid.] [z] [Terence, Andriæ Prologus.]

it principally serves for venting extraordinary affections. No man almost so dull, but will be poetically affected in the subject of his strongest passions. As we see by experience, that where the occasions either of joy for the fortunate valour, or sorrow for the mishaps of their countrymen or alliance are most rife, this disposition is both most pregnant and most common. And as speech or articulation of voices in general was given to man for communicating his conceits or meaning unto others; so poetry, the excellency of speech, serves for the more lively expressing of his choicer conceits, for beautifying his darling thoughts or fancies, which almost disdain to go abroad in other than this exactly proportioned attire, the soul's wooing suits, (if I may so speak,) whereby she wins others to sympathize with her in abundance of grief, or to consent with her in excessive joy, or finally to settle their admiration or dislike where she doth hers. And the more strange or wonderful the matter conceived or to be represented is, the more pleasant and admirable will the true and natural representation of it be; and the more he that conceives it is ravished with delight of its beauty or goodness, the more will he long to communicate his conceit and liking of it to others. Whence such as had seen the wonders of God, and had been fed with his hidden manna, sought by their lively and hearty representations to invite others, as the Psalmist doth, *to taste and see the goodness of the Lord*[a], as birds and beasts, when they have found pleasant food, call (on their fashion) unto others of the same kind to be partakers with them in their joy: until Satan, who hunts after the life of man, as man doth after the life of birds, did invent his counterfeit

[a] Psalm xxiv. 8.

calls to allure our souls into his snare. For when men had once taken a delight in the natural representation of events delightful in themselves, he stirred up others to invent the like, albeit there were no real truth or stability in the things represented, and the manner of representation usually so light and affected, as could argue no credence given by the authors to their own report, but rather a desire to please such as had never set their minds to any inquisition of solid truth, whose unsettled fancies cannot choose but fall in love with as
51 many fair pictures of others' pleasant imaginations as are presented to them. For as to view the connexion of real causes with their effects, (most of all, if both be rare, or the concurrence of circumstances unusual,) doth much affect the judicious understanding; so the quaint or curious contrivance of imaginary rarities set forth in splendent artificial colours, doth captivate the fancies of such as are not established in the love of truth. But (as the orator said of such as applauded the tragedy of Pylades and Orestes) how would such men's souls be ravished, could they upon sure grounds be persuaded that these stories were true, albeit devoid of artificial colours or poetical contrivances never used by sacred antiquity? in whose expression of wonders the phrase is usually most poetical, as naturally it will always be, where the mind is much affected; their invention less artificial or affected than our historical narrations of modern affairs; the character of their style (as was intimated before) doth argue that they sought only to set down the true proportion of matters seen and heard, with such resemblances as were most incident to their kind of life. And from the efficacy of such extraordinary effects upon their souls, is it that the prophets so often express the same things in diverse words, as if all they could say could not equalize the

sensible experiments which did move their hearts and fancies (as the musician's hands or breath doth his instruments) to sound out such pathetical ditties. Nor had their ditties any greater disproportion with their subject, than our songs of famous victories have with theirs, or other passionate ditties with their composers' affections: albeit he that hath experience of love, or abundant grief or joy, will speak in another dialect than ordinarily he useth, without any touch of affectation.

5. Hence we may clearly discern, whilst wonders decayed, and men sought as great delight in feigned, as their forefathers had done in true representations; how the disproportion betwixt representations and the real events, or experiments of the times wherein the later poets lived, became so monstrous and prodigious. This fell out just so as if the armourers of this age should not observe the stature of men now living, but fashion their armour by old Guy of Warwick's harness; or our painters not look upon the bodies of modern Englishmen, but take their proportions from some ancient pictures, which had been truly taken about some thousand years ago, in some other country that had yielded men of more ample stature in that age than this land of ours did in any. Such an error as this, which we have mentioned in poetry, would quickly have been reformed in any other faculty that had concerned men's temporal profit or commodities, or whereof others had been as competent judges as the professors; for so, when they had begun to wander or digress a little from their right end, they should presently have been called to this account; *Quid ad rem?* your work may be pretty, but not to our purpose. But when such admirable events, as were well worth poetical expression, decreased, and worldly cares

did multiply as men increased; the Divine art of poetry, which admits not many competent judges in any age, was counted no better than a matter of mere delight or recreation; and for this reason the prodigious representations of it, so monstrously disproportionable to
52 the truth represented, (because ofttimes more pleasant to men wearied with other studies or employments than the bare narration of the truth,) were never reformed. And so at length that audacious licentiousness of fictions, for moving delight, did in the judgment of posterity disparage the very patterns or prototypes of poetical representations whereunto later poems had been framed: as many tall fellows in this present age, if they should see the true image or picture of some ancient giants, would swear that the painter had played the poet; were it not that the dead bodies or limbs of some ancient people, lately digged out of the ground, did by their unusual bigness teach us to estimate (as we say) *ex pede Herculem*, how great others might have been, whose big limbs and bones have not come unto this age's sight.

6. But most of these strange events were such as did continue no longer than while they were a-doing, wherefore we must seek out the true proportion of these heavenly bodies by their shadows, represented in the later profane poets. The original and manner of whose digression from the patterns of the ancient Divine poets, or rather from Divine truth, the pattern of ancient poetry itself, was partly as you have heard, partly as followeth.

7. God's wonderful works have been more plenteous in Asia than in other parts of the world, more plentiful in Judæa and the regions about it than in other parts of Asia, most plentiful in them about the Israelites' deliverance out of Egypt. In that time, and in

the ages before, or immediately succeeding it, artificial learning was very scant, and characters either not invented or their use very rare in most places. The fresh memory of such wonders presupposed, the lively image either of such licentiousness in coining fables, or confounding true histories with the mixture of false and unnatural circumstances, (as these wants every where in all times naturally breed,) we may clearly behold in the modern Turks [b], who are as abundant in prodigious fables as defective in good learning; and for want of printing or neglect of writing, have no perfect character of the world's fashion in times past, nor any distinct order of former events. It is but a petty solecism among them to affirm, that Job the Hushite was chief justice, and Alexander the Great, lieutenant general unto king Solomon.

8. The like confusion of times and places might be more incident unto the Asiatic nations before Alexander's time, because their ancestors had been acquainted with more strange events latelier forepast than the modern Turks are. Now always the more strange the events be, the more ready they be to mount upon the wings of fame; and once so mounted, the more apt to receive increase in every circumstance, and vary their shape whilst they fly only from mouth to mouth in the open air, not fashioned or limited at their first birth, by some visible character or permanent stamp set upon them.

9. From this vicinity of true wonders in Jewry, or thereabouts, were the Medes, Persians, and Syrians,

[b] Nullum habent Turcæ temporum neque ætatum rationem, mireque historias omnes miscent et confundunt: cum iis in mentem veniet, non verebuntur affirmare, Regis Solomonis Magistrum Curiæ fuisse Jobum; ejus exercitus præfectum Alexandrum Magnum; aut his etiam absurdiora. Busbequius, Epist. i. [p. 59.]

so much addicted to fabulous narrations, that their delight in such traditions did make their later writers ambitious in the skill of coining wonders, as Strabo tells us. And Greece, as it received artificial learning first from Asia, so did it drink in this humour with it. For the traditions of God's miracles in Jewry, and the
53 regions about it, having been far spread when Greece began first to tattle in artificial learning, the Grecians (always children in true antiquity, as the Egyptian priest told one of their philosophers) were apt to counterfeit the form of ancient truths, and misapply it to unseemly matters or foolish purposes; as children will be doing that in homelier stuff, which they see their elders do in better. Finally, the same humour which yet reigns amongst men, might possess most of the heathen. There is no famous event that falls out (though it be but a notable jest) but in a short time is ascribed to a great many more than have any affinity with it. As many of Diogenes' conceits have been fathered upon Tarleton: and what the Christians say of St. George, the Turks ascribe to Chederley[d]. If it be any story concerning wayfaring men, every hostler, tapster, or chamberlain will tell you that it fell out in their town, or in the country thereabouts. And though you hear it in twenty several places, yet shall you have always some new tricks of addition put upon it. In like manner did the reports of sundry events, which either fell out only in Jewry, or upon occasion of God's people, fly about the world, sometime with cut and mangled, but most usually with enlarged, artificial wings, as if the same had been acted every where, or the like invented upon every occasion.

[c] Strabo, lib. xi. fol. 507.
[d] Or, Chederles; Busbequius, Epist. i. [p. 58.]

CHAP. XV.

Of some particular Fables resembling some true Stories of the Bible.

1. To draw some instances from the first fountain. The well of Beer[e], mentioned before, did prefigure Christ, the Rock and Fountain, whence issue streams of waters unto eternal life. And that sacred poetical spirit, which now possessed them, was as a *præludium* to those hymns and songs uttered by Christ's apostles and his disciples, when the Spirit of God was poured upon them after Christ's glorification. Neighbour countries, amongst whom the fame of this event was spread, might easily hence take occasion to ascribe the effect unto the well. And hence had Greece her Helicon, and others (by her) reputed sacred wells, whose waters drunk did make men poets on a sudden. Besides that the opportunity of such places as Helicon and Parnassus were, did dispose men's minds unto this faculty, the demoniacal spirits, which for this reason would frequent the same, might inspire such with poetical fury as did observe their rites and ceremonies, counterfeiting the spirit of Divine prophecies, as they had done God's voice in oracles. Who can doubt, if he compare both stories, but that the fable of Hippocrene or Aganippe in Bœotia, so called because digged by an horse's foot, as poets feign, did take beginning from the story of this sacred well which Moses digged with his rod; and (as the Israelites have a tradition) the princes afterwards, with their staves? And the Phœnicians which followed Cadmus into Europe, are made such wanderers by the poets as the Israelites were in the wilderness: and Cadmus himself, the founder of Hippocrene or Aganippe, amongst other of his inventions, is said to have been the first that taught 54

[e] Numb. xxi.

Greece the use of letters, or that wrote histories in prose; and in one word, another Moses. The fiery serpents, which stung the Israelites murmuring for want of water, might grow in short time to be dragons; and hence, as it is most likely, are Cadmus' companions said to be slain by a dragon, whilst they sought for water[f]. The sun, as we read in the story of Joshua, at his prayer once stood still in the vale of Gibeon[g]. The occasion is in the same place specified, that Joshua might have a day of the Amorites; such a day as was never before it nor shall be after it. This strange miraculous event the heathen people of those times had noted, and delivered it by tradition unto their posterity; who after the manner of this world sought to assign some causes of it. The poets in ages following ascribe it (with some additions) unto that unnatural prodigious murder which Atreus had committed; and for aught we know, besides the reasons specified in sacred writ, God might use this, partly as a means to make Greece and other countries, that should hear of Atreus' bloody fact, stand amazed at such foul impiety, whereat the heavens did blush, and the sun stood still. The times of Atreus his fact, and Joshua his victory, come near to one point, if Statius the poet be not far out in his chronology. For he tells us, that this horrible fact of Atreus was committed about the time of the Theban war; for which reason the Mycenæ, amongst other good neighbours, did not aid king Adrastus and his Argives against the Thebans.

Milite vicinæ nullo juvere Mycenæ.
Funereæ dum namque dapes, mediique recursus
Solis; et hinc alii miscebant prælia fratres[h].

[f] Numb. xxi. 6. Ovid. Met. l. 3. fab. 1. vel 2.

[g] Josh. x. 13.

[h] [Thebaid. lib. 4. l. 306.]

Their Mycene neighbours only send no aid,
Their tragic cheer had bred such bloody broils,
Whose direful sight the blushing sun had staid,
Whilst fierce revenge in heart of brothers boils.

2. And some chronologers, whose skill in this faculty and other good literature I especially reverence, refer the siege of Troy to the time of Judges, or age following Joshua; whereas the Theban war was in the age before: for Tydeus, father unto Diomedes, (who was one of the greatest sticklers against Troy,) was one of the greatest chieftains in the Theban war.

3. From the forementioned humour of seeking to play the poets or painters in adorning true stories, or of vain curiosity in inventing the like; we may easily conjecture what variety of reports would in that temper of the world be extant of Samson's consecrated hair, wherein his inconquerable strength, as the sacred story tells us, did consist[i]. Let Dalilah, Samson's wife, be but mistaken for his daughter; (as few reports of foreign or forepast matters but vary as much in some circumstance or other;) and for Samson and Dalilah you have the famous legend Nisus and Scylla. This mistake was very easy. For such as heard of Dalilah's treachery, without any particular certainty of that circumstance, whether she were his daughter or wife, might justly suspect that she was his daughter, one that wanted an husband, doting upon some foreigner whom she hoped to win unto her love by this practice. Or perhaps Scylla had betrayed her father Nisus, upon hope of satisfying her lust; and Ovid (with other 55
poets) having heard of like practice, did stage-play-like put Samson's hair upon Nisus his head; as usually the Grecian poets have borrowed their best stage attire from the glorious wardrobe of Israel. Other circum-

[i] Judg. xvi. 17, 18.

stances of this story are very like; save only that Ovid[k] feigns Nisus his unvanquishable fortune to have been seated in one hair, which was of the colour of his costly robes.

——— *Cui splendidus ostro*
Inter honoratos medio de vertice canos
Crinis inhærebat, magni fiducia regni.

One scarlet bright, amids the ranks of white and reverend hairs,
He had, whereon did hang the hope and hap of his affairs.

But Samson's strength was in his locks, as he told Dalilah[l]; *There never came razor upon my head; for I am a Nazarite unto God from my mother's womb: therefore if I be shaven, my strength will go from me, and I shall be weak, and be like all other men.* For the means and opportunities whereby Dalilah did, and Scylla is feigned to have compassed her intended treason, they are the very same. Dalilah, as it is said, made Samson sleep upon her knee, and she called a man, and made him to shave the seven locks of his head; and so Ovid brings in Scylla, taking the like opportunity of her father's sleep;

Prima quies aderat; qua curis fessa diurnis
Pectora somnus habet. Thalamos taciturna paternos
Intrat: et (heu facinus!) fatali nata parentem
Crine suum spoliat[m].

First sleep was come, and weary limbs were at their sweet repose,
When she unto her father's bed in sliest silence goes:
But let no silence cloke her shame, (O detestable theft!)
Her father of his fatal hair the daughter hath bereft.

4. Not much greater variety is there between the story of Lot's wife's transformation into a pillar of

[k] Ovid. Metam. l. 8. fab. 1. [l. 8.] [l] Judges xvi. 17. [m] [v. 83.]

salt, and Niobe's into a stone[n]. The poets feign that Niobe was transformed upon her grief for death of her children: and the Jews have a tradition, that Lot's wife was overtaken with that hideous shower of fire and brimstone, whilst she stayed behind her husband to see what would become of her friends and her kinsfolk which remained in Sodom. And it is probable out of that chapter[o], that Lot's sons-in-law remained in Sodom, and likely their wives too, Lot's other daughters. For so it is said[p], (not without emphasis in the original,) *Take thy wife, and thy two daughters, which are found,* or, (as the Chaldee Paraphrase,) *which are found faithful with thee;* (that is, which are not corrupt by conversing with others abroad;) *lest thou be destroyed with others in the punishment of this city.* Whether this tradition of the Jews be true or no, it makes little for my present purpose. Very ancient it is, and whether true or false, might give occasion to the former fable, as other stories of the Bible do sometimes the rather, because the sense is mistaken. As the common opinion is that Lot's wife was transformed into *a pillar of salt,* when as no cir- 56
cumstance of the text doth enforce so much, but rather leaves us free to think, what is more probable, that fearful showers of God's vengeance, wherewith Sodom was destroyed, were heaped upon her, so that her body was wrapt up in that congealed matter, which was perhaps in form like to some thunderstone, or the like, from which it could not be discerned, being as it were candied in it.

5. If such a transformation of Lot's wife seem strange, what will the atheist say unto the destruction of Sodom and the five cities? Or if this seem

[n] Ovid. Met. l. 6. fab. 3. aliis 4. [o] Gen. xix. 14.

strange and incredible, because their destruction vanisheth whilst they perished, what can he say to the salt sea? Doubtless, unless God had left this as a lasting monument to confute the incredulity of philosophers by an ocular and sensible demonstration, they would have denied the truth of this effect, as well as they doubt of the cause which the scriptures assign of it. Is the violence of that storm, which destroyed the five cities, strange, and above the force of nature? so is the quality of that sea, and the soil[q] about it, contrary to the nature of all other seas, or inland lakes. And let the most curious philosopher in the world give any natural cause of it; and the disproportion between the cause and the known effect will be more prodigious in nature, than the cause which Moses gives of it is strange. Some cause, by their confession, it must have; and though the storm were raised by a supernatural power, yet admitting the violence of it to be such as the scripture tells us, and the fall of so much durable matter, no cause can be conceived, so probable in nature, as that which Moses gives; as out of the grounds of philosophy, and divers experiments in nature, I could easily prove. But Strabo[r], that great philosopher, and no credulous antiquary, hath eased me of this labour. For albeit he held the Syrians for a fabulous people; yet the evident marks of God's wrath, that had been kindled in that place, (as concavities made by fire,

[q] Haud procul inde campi, quos ferunt olim uberes magnisque urbibus habitatos, fulminum jactu arsisse, et manere vestigia, terramque specie torridam, vim frugiferam perdidisse; nam cuncta sponte edita, aut manu sata, sive herba tenus aut flore, seu solitam in speciem adolevere, atra, et inania velut in cinerem vanescunt. Ego sicut Judaicas quondam urbes igne cœlesti flagrasse concesserim, ita halitu lacus infici terram, corrumpi superfusum spiritum, eoque fœtus segetum et autumni putrescere reor, sole, cœloque juxta gravi. Tacitus, lib. v. Hist. [cap. 7.]

[r] Strabo, l. 16. p. 764.

distillation of pitch out of the seared rocks, the noisome smell of the waters thereabouts, with the relics and ruins of the ancient habitations,) made the tradition of neighbour inhabitants seem probable unto him; that there had been thirteen populous cities in that soil, of which Sodom was the chief, whose circumference then remaining was sixty furlongs. But (as the custom is of secular philosophers) he seeks to ascribe the cause of this desolation rather unto earth than heaven, and thinks the lake was made by an earthquake which had caused the bursting out of hot waters, whose course was upon sulphur and brimstone. And it is not unlikely that the earth did tremble whilst the heavens did so terribly frown, and the Almighty gave his fearful voice from out the clouds: and once having opened her mouth to swallow up those wicked inhabitants, the exhalations of whose sins had bred these storms, became afterwards a pan or receptacle of moisture, infecting all the waters which fell into it with the loathsome qualities of those dregs of God's wrath which had first settled in it; as bad humours, when they settle in any part, plant, as it were, a new nature in the same, and turn all nutriment into their substance.

CHAP. XVI. 57

Of Noah's and Deucalion's Flood, with other miscellane Observations.

1. NOT any son so like his natural father, as Deucalion's flood is like Noah's. Every schoolboy, from the similitude of their substance, at the first sight can discern the one to be the bastard brood of the other; albeit Ovid, from whom we have the picture of the one, hath left out and added divers circumstances at his pleasure; which assures me that he had never read the sacred story, (as some think he did,) but took up

the confused tradition of it, which had passed through many hands before his time: for other poets which had come to Plutarch's[s] reading, though not to ours, make mention of Deucalion's ark, his dove's returning to him again before the water's fall, his prognostication of the water's decrease by her perpetual absence at her last setting out. This tradition was so commonly received in Greece, that some etymologists think the famous hill Parnassus did take its name from the ark's abode upon it, as if it had first been called Larnassus[t]. These are sure testimonies that such a flood had been: but that in Deucalion's time any such had been, or that the ark did stay in Greece, hath no show of truth. See St. Augustine, De Civit. Dei, lib. 18. cap. 10. et L.Vives.

2. If Trogus Pompeius' works had come entire into our hands, or had they light upon a more skilful and sincere epitomist than Justin, we should have found more evident prints of the story of Noah's flood, in that controversy between the Scythians and Egyptians; whether were the most ancient people: as Justin relates it, lib. 2. [cap. 1.] thus it was.

3. The Egyptians thought the heavens over them had been in love with their soil, and that from the conjunction of the one's mildness with the other's fertility, the first people of the world had been brought forth in Egypt. The Scythians alleged it was most probable that their country was first inhabited, because if fire had shut up the womb of their mother earth, this element did forsake theirs first, as being the coldest country: or if water had covered the face of nature,

[s] Plut. de Solertia Animalium. [Vol. ii. p. 968.] Οἱ μὲν οὖν μυθολόγοι τῷ Δευκαλίωνί φασι περίστεραν ἐκ τῆς λάρνακος ἀφιεμένην, δήλωμα γενέσθαι χειμῶνος μὲν, εἶσω πάλιν ἐνδυομένην. εὐδίας δὲ, ἀποπτᾶσαν.

[t] Ἀπὸ τῆς λάρνακος, which word Plutarch useth in that place.

and made it unapt for conception by too much moisture, this veil was first put off in Scythia, as being the highest part of the inhabited land. Unto these reasons of the Scythians the Egyptians yielded, as Justin reports. Both of them erred in the manner of man's propagation; both again held a general truth, in thinking mankind had some late propagation, and that kingdoms had not been so frequented with people in former generations as now they were. The Scythians agreed herein with scripture, that the higher parts of the world which they inhabited, or parts near unto them, were first dried up from the waters; for in the mountains of Armenia the ark stayed, and Noah went first on land in that country. The story of whose preservation in this deluge, and the propagation of mankind from him and his children, not being expressly recorded to the Scythians, they imagine that men had grown like mushrooms after rain, because they had been so few, and now were come unto such 58
great multitudes. Nor did Noah only go first on land in Armenia[u], but his posterity had their habitation in the mountainous countries, until their multitude caused them to seek more room; as we may gather Gen. xi. 1, 2. *Then the whole earth was of one language and one speech. And as they went from the east,* (that is, from Armenia,) *they found a plain in the land of Shinar; and there they abode.* Some broken traditions of this truth might cause the ancient Scythians to stand upon their pantofles, and plead priority of nature from superiority of place. And this conceit of antiquity

[u] Tres vero Noe filii Semas, Japhetus, et Chamas centum annis ante diluvium nati, primi relictis montibus planitiem habitare cœperunt, et aliis recenti etiam tum cladis memoria pavidis, nec audentibus a celsiore loco descendere, idem faciendi autores et exemplum fuere. [Joseph. lib. i. Antiq. cap. 5. cap. 4. p. 18.]

being propagated to posterity, they seek to fortify their title to it (called in question) by such reasons as were alleged before. And even in these their reasons, though false in particular, there appears a certain general glimpse of Divine truth: for in that they take it as granted that either fire or water had stopped the course of nature, this is an infallible argument that they had heard of the dominion allotted by fate to those two elements over other bodies; albeit they did not rightly apprehend the manner of the world's destruction by them, nor whether's course was first passed. This tradition of the world's destruction by fire and water, and the distinction of their courses, (though not so plainly revealed in the Old Testament,) had come more distinctly to Ovid's hand [x]; who bringeth in Jupiter, resolving to plague the old world rather by water than fire, because it was to have a fatal dissolution by fire:

Esse quoque in Fatis reminiscitur affore tempus,
Quo mare, quo tellus, correptaque regia cœli
Ardeat; et mundi moles operosa laboret. Ver. 256.

He calls to mind the day would come, (for Fates had set the same,)
When sea and land, heavens, elements, and all this mundane frame
Should sweat with heat, and melt as wax before the fearful flame.

4. The Egyptians likewise had many reasons why they might justly think themselves a very ancient people, and those not dissonant unto scripture; which witnesseth Egypt to have been a mighty kingdom, every way better replenished than any other country that we can read of in times so ancient; first possessed by Mizraim, the son of Cham, by whose name it is

[x] Met. l. 1. fab. 7. [line 253.]
Jamque erat in totas sparsurus fulmina terras; Sed timuit, ne forte sacer tot ab ignibus æther Conciperet flammas, totusque arderet axis.

continually called by the sacred writers, as well the prophets and late historiographers as by Moses; and in the Eastern languages bears that name until this day, as Mercerus[y] tells us. This Mizraim also did propagate sundry particular nations in short time, as we find registered Gen. x. 13, 14. All which might make for the Egyptians' conceit of their antiquity. And albeit the old Canaanites were as ancient and populous a nation (though not so united in a kingdom) as the Egyptians; yet, before these altercations arose, or (at least) before any other people took notice of them, their posterity was rooted out by the Israelites, who though they came in the others' place, yet came not into competition with the Egyptians for antiquity in the judgment of any heathen writer; because the Israelites were no people till the time that Egypt was one of the mightiest nations upon earth; and the heathen being ignorant, (as making little reckoning of their original,) took them for a colony of the 59
Egyptians, as appears by Strabo[z], who in recompense of this his error hath elsewhere acquainted us with another experiment, which may confirm the antiquity of Moses' story concerning Shem's posterity.

Moses tells us, Gen. x. 23, that Aram, son of Shem, and brother to Ashur, had Uz, and Chul, and Mash unto his sons. The Aramites no question had their name and propagation from Aram. Some think the Arabians, or other countries about Idumæa, or both, had their original from Uz: others, that the Massiani in Arabia were so called of Mash: Josephus, that the Armenians were the progeny of Chul. Consonant to all these opinions is Strabo his observation[a] of these

[y] Com. in Gen. cap. 10. v. 6. Vid. et Josephum, lib. 1. Antiq. cap. 7. [aliis 6. p. 22.]

[z] Lib. 16. [1

[a] Sed sc sit vetusta

people; whom the Grecians call Syrians, the Syrians themselves call Aramæans; and his collection is, that the Armenians and the Erembi (that is, the ancient Arabians) have taken their denomination from the same name, a little varied (as the custom is) by continuance of time and variety of dialect. That these three nations did all proceed from one stock, he gathers from the similitudes and perfect resemblances of their nature, customs, and manner of life.

5. But for the first habitation or antiquity of Armenia or Scythia it skills not much. That mankind had a new propagation about the time assigned by Moses of the universal flood, and that the nations were propagated from those regions which Moses tells us were allotted to the sons of Noah, and inhabited by his nephews, is apparent from the sudden increase of arts and sciences: which were in a good measure perfect

panda potius nominis mutatio quæ frequens est et usitata omnibus gentibus; et videntur quidam literarum mutationibus temerariis eam efficere. Optime omnium existimo Possidonium, hic quoque a gentium cognatione et communitate interpretationem vocum ducere. Nam Armeniorum, Syrorum, et Arabum, multum cognationis præ se ferunt nationes, sermone, vita, corporum forma, maxime ubi degunt in vicinia. Idque ostendit Mesopotamia ex tribus his conflata populis. Maxime enim in his similitudo est illustris: quod si qua est varietas pro eo atque aliæ partes aliis magis ad septentrionem, aut meridiem vergunt, aut in medio sunt sitæ; nihilominus tamen communis affectio obtinet. Assyrii quoque Ariani et Armenii inter se atque istorum sunt assimiles. Estque colligendum harum gentium nomina esse affinia: qui enim a nobis Syri, ii ab ipsis Syris Aramæi dicuntur, hisque conveniunt Armenii et Arabes, et Erembi, Strab. l. 1. [page 41.] This opinion of Strabo confirms Josephus' observation concerning the changing of nations' names. Lib. i. Antiq. c. 6. [aliis cap. 5 page 20.] Porro gentium quædam adhuc servant derivatam a suis conditoribus appellationem, quædam etiam mutaverunt, nonnullæ in familiarem accolis et notiorem vocem sunt versæ, Græcis potissimum talis nomenclaturæ autoribus. Hi enim posterioribus sæculis veterem locorum gloriam sibi usurparunt, gentes nominibus sibi notis insigniunt, dumque tanquam ad suum jus attinerent, mores quoque proprios in illas invehunt.

in those countries, in times as ancient as any profane history can point unto; yet seated only in a narrow room, whence they were derived, as from a centre, to more remote parts of the world. The ripeness of literature, civil discipline, and inventions amongst the Assyrians, Chaldeans, and Egyptians, before the like did so much as bud forth in Greece, Italy, or other countries, far distant from the former, doth argue that these were the stock, and others but slips or branches transplanted thence. Again, the state and pomp of these eastern countries, before Greece, or Italy, or any other western people, did grow into the fashion of a kingdom or civil nation, demonstrates unto us, that the inhabitants of those places were the heirs of the world, who had the court, kingdom, and metropolis amongst them, and other nations but as colonies of men of meaner sort, not so near allied unto the firstborn; or (as it were) of a younger house, and a far ruder edu- 62
cation. And it is most likely, or rather evident, that the sons of Japhet did first inhabit Scythia, or the northern parts of Asia Minor, and other parts near adjoining, before they came into Greece, or other countries of Europe. And these were the sons of Noah's meanest posterity, until the fulness of Shem and Cham's iniquity were accomplished. For as God's promise unto Abraham was not accomplished in his person, but in his posterity, many generations after his death; so neither did his curse upon Cham take place till the same time. The execution of God's curse upon the one was the collation of his blessing upon the other: but the enlarging of Japhet's race came long after both. Thus the Egyptians were the first great princes; the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians the next; the Grecians and Romans after them; and in later times the race of Ishmael hath been the mighty people: for of

him the Saracens lineally descend, and the Turks, by adoption heirs of the same promise[b]. So truly doth the scripture tell us the truth of all antiquity, and the true causes of nations' increase: but of this elsewhere. To conclude this story of Noah.

6. The former argument drawn from the sudden increase and propagation of men, the scarcity of arts, civil discipline and inventions, with other experiments better known to them than us, enforced certain of the ancient philosophers to hold a perpetual vicissitude, some of general, some of particular deluges, whereby the works of antiquity, once come to perfection, had been, and continually should be, defaced; either generally throughout the world, or in sundry countries according to the extent of the inundation. This opinion might seem more safe, because not easy to be disproved in the old world, in which the wisest living (besides the people of God) had no distinct knowledge of any thing that had happened a hundred years before his own birth; much less what mutations should follow after his death: but unto us their prognostication is like unto some late prophecies of doomsday, confuted by a world of witnesses, even by the continuance of every thing after that time, which, by their prophecies, should have imposed a fatal end to all things. We may truly use the mocker's words to these mockers of truth; *Since the old philosophers died, all things continue alike;* seed time and harvest have been still distinct, nor hath there been any flood to destroy either the whole earth, or any entire nation thereof. For assurance of which promise the Almighty hath set his bow in the cloud; whose natural causes, though the philosophers can in some sort assign, and shew the

[b] Vid. Fagium in cap. 16. [v. 12.] Genes. et Paræum. [Comment. in Gen. page 1101.]

manner how diversities of colours arise in it; yet the ancient poets saw more, (than either they themselves have left expressed, or later philosophers sought to conceive,) when they feigned Iris to be *Thaumantis filia*, the daughter, or (as we of this age would say) the mother of wonderment; the messenger of the great god Jupiter and his goddess Juno. The occasions of this fiction (had they been well acquainted with them) might have informed philosophers, that the rainbow had some better use than a bare speculation how it was made; some final, besides the material and efficient cause, unto whose search the admirable form or composition of it did incite men naturally. And the ancient philosophers (who were for the most part poets, and endued with more lively notions of the first and supreme Cause of all things) did usually assign a final 63
cause, (commonly) supernatural, of such effects as proceeded from efficient and material natural causes. As the Pythagoreans thought the thunder (whose matter, form, and efficient they well knew) was made to terrify such as were in hell; not erring in the general, that it had some such like use, though mistaken in the particulars, whom it was made to terrify. Natural philosophy gives us the material and sensible efficient causes; the scripture only the true and supernatural end, which leads us to the immortal, invisible, and principal efficient Cause of all natural effects, even of nature itself. And Aristotle acknowledgeth the motions or dispositions of the matter to depend upon the end or final cause: albeit he gives no final cause at all of main principal, much less the supreme or principal final cause of all natural effects, but confounds the form with the end, against his own principles, and contrary to the analogy between nature and art, which is the ground

[c] Arist. 2. Post. Phys. 2. l. c. 3.

of all his discourse about the matter, form, and efficient. For the artificial form is not the end of the artist's work, but rather incites the spectator to view and admire his skill, from which his gain or fame may redound. And these (one or both) are the principal end of all his labours: so is the glory of the first and supreme efficient Cause the principal and utmost end of all the works of nature; and nature itself (if I may so speak) the art or skill of the first and supernatural Cause. But as Aristotle's philosophy is imperfect, because it leads us not either unto the first Cause or last end of all things; so it is fully sufficient to confute such divines as think there were rainbows before the flood. Which opinion hath no pretence of scripture to enforce it: and grounds in nature it can have none, unless they will avouch this evident untruth, that every disposition of the air, or every cloud, is fitly disposed to bring forth the rainbow. And if other natural causes, with their motions and dispositions, depend upon the final; such as acknowledge the truth of scripture have no reason to think that either the clouds or air had that peculiar disposition which is required unto the production of the rainbow, before the flood, when this wonderful effect could have no such use or end as it hath had ever since. For it was ordained, as the scripture tells us[d], to be a sign or witness of God's covenant with the new world, a messenger to secure mankind from destruction by deluges. Now if it had appeared before, the sight of it after the flood could have been but a silly comfort to Noah's timorous posterity; whose mistrust, lest the like inundation should happen again, was greater than could be taken away by any ordinary or usual sign, if we may believe such testimonies[e] of antiquity as we have no reason to

[d] Gen. ix. 12—14. [e] Joseph. Hist. Noæ. Ant. lib. i. [cap. iii. p. 17.]

suspect. I omit the discussion of their opinion[f], who think the rainbow doth naturally argue such a temper of the air, as is unapt for the present to conceive any excessive moisture. Either from these reasons in nature, then well known, or from the tenor of God's forementioned covenant, communicated to the ancient heathen people by tradition, doth Jupiter in Homer make Iris the messenger of his peremptory command unto Neptune, to desist from aiding the Grecians.

'Αγγελίην τινά τοι, Γαιήοχε κυανοχαῖτα, 62
Ἦλθον δεῦρο φέρουσα παρὰ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο·
Παυσάμενόν σ' ἐκέλευσε μάχης ἠδὲ πτολέμοιο,
Ἔρχεσθ,' ἢ μετὰ φῦλα θεῶν, ἢ εἰς ἅλα δῖαν[g].

From Jove I come a messenger to him that Neptune hight,
His pleasure is, that thou henceforth ne come in field or fight:
But hence to heaven, or to wide sea address thy speedy flight.

7. The true mythology of which fiction I should, from the circumstance of the story, conjecture to be this. The swelling of waters and abundance of moisture did advantage the Grecians and annoy the Trojans, for whom fair weather was best, as having greatest use at that time of service by horse. For this reason is Neptune by Iris commanded to get him into the sea, which is as much as to say, the overflow of waters and abundance of moisture was now to be assuaged; and Apollo on the other side sent to encourage Hector and his Trojans; the meaning is, that Jupiter would now have fair and dry weather.

'Αλλ' ἄγε, νῦν ἱππεῦσιν ἐπότρυνον πολέεσσι,
Νηυσὶν ἐπὶ γλαφυρῇσιν ἐλαυνέμεν ὠκέας ἵππους·

[f] Vid. Ammian. Marcel. lib. 20. in fine. Et quoniam indicium est permutationis auræ (ut diximus) a sudo aëre nubium concitans globos, aut contra ex concreto immutans in serenam lætitiam cœlum: ideo apud poëtas legimus sæpe Irim de cœlo mitti, cum præsentium rerum sit status mutatio. See Joh. Peckham, Archiep. Cantuariensis Perspectiva Communis, lib. 3. in fine. [Prop. 21.]

[g] [Iliad. O. 174.]

Αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ προπάροιθε κιὼν, ἵπποισι κέλευθον
Πᾶσαν λειανέω, τρέψω δ' ἥρωας Ἀχαιούς[h].

Go to! prepare the troops of horse, (for they must do the deed,)
And charge thine enemies at their ships, but charge them with all speed.
Meantime I'll go before and smooth the way, you follow must;
I'll turn the Grecian chieftains back, or lay them in the dust.

Such mysteries of nature are often wrapt in poetical fictions, though many of them not so easy to be discerned in such distance of time, this kind of divinity being now worn out of date. But we that have this supernatural commentary upon the works of nature, may see in the mixt colours of the rainbow more clearly than in any prophetical vision, the old world's destruction by water; and this presents future consumption by fire, whose brightness is predominant in the waterish humour. The resolution of the cloud, by the heat of sunbeams reflected upon it, prefigures unto us the melting of the elements with fire, 2 Pet. iii. 12.

8. Scarce any thing in the frame of nature, no not the untruths of poetical fables or lying stories, but bear witness of the Divine truth revealed in scriptures; so men would not be preposterous in their observations, like Julian the Apostate, who sought to discredit the sacred story of the tower of Babel by the poets' fictions of the giants' war against heaven, as if there had been no more probability in the one than in the other. If he could have shewed us any poem of the same subject more ancient than that story, he might have had some piece of an excuse for his impiety, some pretence for accusing the scripture of poetical imitation; but if the poets have been imitators of Moses, or other writers of this story, the blame must lie upon them, either for wilful corrupting of the truth,

[h Iliad. o. 258.]

or (which is most likely) for taking the hyperbolical phrase of scriptures in a strict sense, as if they had meant to build a tower up to heaven indeed, when as 63
the phrase importeth no other intendment in them, than only to build an exceeding high tower, which might secure them from inundation, (as some think,) or else endure as a monument of their fame, or a refuge whereunto they might resort and continue their combination.

9. But the later Grecians, having their consciences convict with the evidence, not their affections conquered with the love of truth, were driven into more desperate impudence, to say that our Saviour Christ had taken those divine sentences which they could not but admire, out of their divine Plato; whereas Plato himself (as St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, out of testimonies not now producible, gather) had his best divinity from such as wrote of Christ, although the medley of their divinity and his philosophy is but like the mingling of Jordan's sweet streams with the salt sea[g]. That Plato had either read, or been instructed by such as had read the books of Moses, he will easily believe that shall read the speech of Aristophanes in the Dialogue of love, or banquet discourse. "In the beginning," saith he, "there were three sorts or sexes of men, not these two only which are now extant, male and female; but a third common nature composed of these, whose name now only remaineth, without any such real nature, as the word Androgyni imports[h]."

10. This opinion (doubtless) was conceived from a misconceit of Moses his meaning, in making divers mention of our first parents' creation, Gen. ii. He makes first mention of Adam's creation, then of Evah's,

[g] Aug. lib. 2. de Doctr. Christ. cap. 28.

[h] Plato in Conviv. [vol. 3. 189.]

distinct from it. But Gen. i. 26, 27, and ch. v. 1, 2. he seemeth to relate both their creations so jointly and briefly, that a man, not acquainted with the Hebrew dialect, nor the mysteries of matrimony represented in that story, might think that neither distinct man or woman had been there created, but Androgyni. *Furthermore God said, Let us make man in our likeness according to our image, and let* them *rule over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the heaven, and over the beasts, and over all the earth, and over every thing that creepeth or moveth on the earth. Thus God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; he created* them *male and female.* And a secular artist that affecteth artificial, being ignorant of Moses his method, might think that these were not repetitions of the same, but distinct stories of divers creations. From the like ignorance of the Grecians in the eastern tongues, or some default in the written copies which they followed, did the river Perath enlarge its name by translation from one tongue to another, as it doth its streams by passing from place to place. For if we join the Hebrew pronoun or article with the noun, whereby this river is named in scripture, the compound is only different in termination from the same river's name in Greek. Moses, Gen. ii. having mentioned three rivers of the garden, addeth, *And there was a fourth, which is Perath,* [i]Hu Perath, or rather, Hu Prath, which words conjoined are Huphrath. All these argue that the sacred antiquity of Jewry was unto other nations, as Nilus to Egypt, the main stream or principal river whence they drew most of their inventions, either of

[i] Which, according unto the Greek termination, is Euphrates, not Euphrathes, as of the Hebrew Beth is the Greek Beta, not Betha.

necessity or delight; albeit these cuts or petty streams thence derived, did quite alter their native quality in the conveyances, receiving infection from the soil through which they ran, or putrifying the cisterns wherein they settled.

11. For confirmation of all, we may add this. The 64
Greek alphabet hath been taken from the Hebrew, as is evident to such as will compare both. The Grecians themselves acknowledge, that they had their very letters from the Phœnicians, who were next neighbours to Judæa.

12. To recollect the sum of all that hath been said throughout this discourse. As both the first elements and sundry primitive words of the Greek and Hebrew scarce differ so much one from another as three from four, or one digit number from the next unto it, and yet after many deflections from the first roots or themes of both, and new frames of words by artificial composition, (a thing as natural to the Greeks as spreading branches to the vine,) the languages themselves, or whole product of both elements, are much different; so are the principal or first heads of the Grecian inventions derived for the most part from the Hebrews, although by successive artificial imitation their variety grow greater, and their resemblance of Divine truth the less. So likewise were logical conceits first clothed, like nature's children, in terms not much abhorrent from common and civil use; but after divers reflections of artists' imaginations and endless revolutions of conceit upon conceit, the logicians' dialect is become a distinct language from all others; so that a man may as well speak Greek to a mere Latinist, as logic-latin to a mere humanitian. Thus much of the heathen's digression from the historical truth of scriptures. It remains that we compare the moral use

and issue of their inventions with the end, scope, and fruit of these Divine writings.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Sacred Writers' Sobriety and Discretion in relating true Miracles, compared especially with later Heathens' vanity, in coining fruitless Wonders.

1. ALBEIT the superstition of later Gentiles was most opposite to the most true, most ancient religion of the Israelites; yet if we trace the most civil sort of them backwards in their sinister ways, we shall find it, and the right path of the Israelites, like the two opposite branches of Pythagoras his letter, jumping as it were in one trunk. Sundry fragments of Orpheus, Linus, Pythagoras, yea of Euripides, much later than the former, with many sayings of other ancient poets and philosophers, do witness that their authors had many notions of good and evil, not much dissonant from the moral law of God, fully consonant (for their general truth) unto the good sentences of Job's friends; albeit even these were mingled with many particular errors of the Divine providence. Much more did the most of the heathen, since the division of the Jews from other people, by their sacred laws, go much every day more than other awry from those good rules of life which had been naturally engrafted both in the Jews' and Gentiles' hearts. These excellent sayings of
65 the ancient heathen, and their posterity's credulity to believe all reports of their gods, demonstrate that they had observed many wonderful experiments and evident documents of a Divine providence, and communicated the same unto posterity, both in plain literal moral discourses and allegorical or mystical fictions. In thus doing, perhaps not intending so much, that their successors should expect the same events or course of

things to continue for ever, as that they should learn to reverence these sacred powers, to glorify them as Divine, who could always alike effect what they intended, though by means most contrary. But unto the heathen, destitute of God's written word, the best observations of their ancestors became quickly like a calendar out of date, they could not discern the works of God, nor his inward secret calling, when once the course of his proceedings, or manner of his speaking to them changed. Thus Planetiades in Plutarch[k] ascribes the defect of oracles unto the carelessness or malignancy of the gods, as if, these once taken away, they had no other means left for procuring the welfare of mankind. But in Jewry the true doctrine of the Divine power or providence was well known. For God by Moses had both given them his written oracles as an absolute ephemerides of all things that had been since the first moment of time, by whose rules they were to discern all other succeeding predictions, and also continually raised them up prophets like yearly astronomers, to continue the ephemerides which Moses had made for the direction of man's life, and to instruct them as it were in a monthly calendar of every particular alteration or change unto which that great lawgiver in his general predictions could not descend. From this reason it is that the penmen of the sacred story do not always relate the same or like events, but assign divers manners of his working and speaking to several ages. Some afford us lively monuments of his power, others, patterns of his wisdom; some, examples of his justice, others, of his mercy; yet all of them co tinually acknowledge him to be the only autho their good, albeit the manner of procuring it be d yea contrary. Thus Ezra, Nehemiah, and oth

[k] Plut. de Defectu Oraculorum. [vol. 2. p. 4

men of that time, ascribe their redemption from Babylonish captivity, as immediately to the wonderful working of their God, as their fore-elders did their deliverance from Egyptian thraldom, although no such miracle of his power were seen in the later. The former deliverance had confirmed his omnipotent ability of doing what he would, the latter, his infinite wisdom in doing what he could, by what means he would; and it was his good pleasure to be glorified in sundry ages by divers manifestations of his several attributes.

2. But the heathen wanting his word for their direction, after they had once begun, knew not how to make an end. If God cease to shew his miracles in any one kind, which they had heard of before, either they sought to continue them by feigning the like, (more ready to play upon former reports than to observe the course of God's proceedings in their own times,) or else from the variety of wonderful events, whose cause they knew not, they imagine a plurality of gods. Others, from these men's superstition and curiosity were prone to suspect the truth of what had been, after once such sensible events or experiments
66 begun to cease. This gave the first occasion unto atheism, which hath most abounded since the propagation of the gospel, whose glory hath quite extinguished those petty lights which purblind heathen only used for their direction, being most conspicuous to the flesh or sense, as the gospel is to the Spirit. For as dim or weak sights can make some shift with starlight or candles that shine afar off, but are quite put out by looking upon the bright sun; so hath the brightness of Christ's glory revealed, put out the eyes of corrupted nature, in such as loved darkness more than light, and would not seek for any remedy at his hands, which giveth sight to the blind. Yet might

this their disease be sooner cured, if they would compare other countries' vanity in feigning wonders without occasion, with this religious sobriety of the later writers of the Bible, or other godly men, who have written of Jews' affairs, not one of them since Hezekiah's time relating such wonders as their fathers had told them. This sobriety in them evidently shews that the former miracles were no fictions of human fancy; otherwise the Jews, living between Hezekiah's and Christ's time, would have been copious in their inventions of the like, as we see by experience that the learned Jews since our Saviour's time have been most ridiculously apish in coining, and the illiterate as gross in believing, most absurd and filthy fables. That this people, during the whole time of the second temple, added no books to the canon of the Bible, confirms their forefathers' care of admitting none in former times, but upon evident and sure experiments of their Divine authority. Again, it was most miraculous that this people, which had prophets and sacred writers in every age before the Babylonish captivity, should after their redemption thence lie so quiet, that not the most learned among them did ever challenge the name of prophet, though they had men of Divine spirits, and excellent observation in heavenly matters, as appears by the author of Ecclesiasticus, the Book of Wisdom, and other books of good use amongst all religious men, though not canonical amongst the Jews themselves. Answerable to this sobriety of the learned was the disposition of the unlearned among this people; which during the former period of time, wherein they wanted prophets, were generally most ave
from all idolatry, whereunto they were most
while prophecies were most plentiful am
and yet continued still as far from atheis

The reason of all which I have given before. "God had enjoined a general silence throughout this land, that all might hearken more attentively unto the crier's voice, appointed to prepare the ways of the Lord;" after whose message once fully accomplished, as it had been after the ringing of a market bell, every mountebank throughout their coasts sets to sale the dreams and fancies of his own brain for Divine prophecies.

3. Lastly, the heathen in their most sacred traditions, and matters of greatest consequence, add circumstances according to the occurrents of their own times, which suit no better with the substance or essence of their ancestors' observations, than a pigmy's slipper with a giant's foot. How shamefully doth the wanton poet feign his gods to long after such matters as he himself did most delight in! The best end and use of his greatest gods' apparitions are ofttimes to accom-
67 plish beastly lust; Divine truths are usually transformed into the poet's private affection. Ovid's description of Jupiter's coming to Semele[l] is not much unlike the manner of God's passing by [m]Elijah upon the mount, and therefore not altogether unbeseeming the majesty of the great King, if all circumstances were answerable to the substance of the description; but it is brought to an absurd, profane, and foolish purpose. So likewise [n]Semele's petition unto Jupiter, is but [o]Moses his request unto God, effeminate and

[l] Æthera conscendit, nutuque sequentia traxit | Nubila, queis nimbos immistaque fulgura ventis | Addidit, et tonitrus et inevitabile fulmen. Lib. 3. Metam. fab. 3. [l. 299.]

[m] 1 Kings xix. 11, 12. *And, behold, the Lord went by, and a mighty strong wind rent the mountains, and brake the rocks before the Lord, and after the wind an earthquake, and after the earthquake, fire.*

[n] Det pignus amoris | Si modo verus is est, quantusque et qualis ab alta | Junone excipitur, tantus talisque rogato Det tibi complexus, suaque ante insignia sumat. Ovid. Ib. [283.]

[o] Exod. xxxiii. 12, 13. and 18.

transformed in sundry circumstances to the poet's humour. Moses, Exod. xxxiii. 18, desired to see the glory of the Lord, and the Lord answered him, *Thou canst not see my face: for there shall no man see my face and live.* Yet willing to confirm this his servant's faith, he condescends thus far to his suit[p]: *Whilst my glory passeth by, I will put thee into a cleft of the rock, and will cover thee with mine hand whilst I pass by: and thou shalt see my back parts: but my face shall not be seen.* Either from some mistaking of this place, or from experience of others' sudden death upon such apparition of the Divine majesty, as Moses and Elias by peculiar dispensation had escaped, did that tradition spring which Manoah conceited so deeply, Judg. xiii. 22. *And Manoah said unto his wife, We shall surely die, because we have seen God;* as Gideon had done likewise, Judg. vi. 22, *Alas, my Lord God! for because I have seen the angel of the Lord face to face, I shall die*[q]. This tradition had come to Ovid's hands[r], who makes that majesty, which he had described to be so great, so improvident withal, as to grant her foolish request, on whom he doted, to her utter ruin; and so impotent, that he could not protect her, albeit he strove to cover her with his hand; and so finally neither the god could enjoy his love, nor his best beloved her life. Such are the consequences

Then Moses said unto the Lord, See, thou sayest unto me, Lead this people forth: and thou hast not shewed me whom thou wilt send with me: thou hast said moreover, I know thee by name, and thou hast also found grace in my sight. Now therefore, I pray thee, if I have found favour in thy sight, shew me now the way, that I may know thee, and that I may find grace in thy sight. Again he said, I beseech thee shew me thy glory.

p Exod. xxxiii. 21, 22, 23.

q Hence was that of Homer, lib. 1. Odyss. Ὁ δὲ, φρεσὶν ἦσι νοήσας, | Θάμβησεν κατὰ θυμόν· δίσσατο γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι.

r Corpus mortale tumultus | Non tulit æthereos donisque jugalibus arsit. [Ibid. 309.]

of later heathens' greatest miracles; but in the sacred story, wherein are specified events as strange as poets relate any, such causes are assigned of them as are more weighty, and the manner of their relation more grave and serious than the events are rare; if God at any time appear, either in vision by night, or corporal shape by day, it is for some extraordinary purpose. All the miracles or wonders wrought in Israel, were to bring that people unto the knowledge of the true God, to rely continually upon his providence; a matter more hard, if we consider the frailty of our own flesh, than the effecting of any miracles reported to have been wrought for the Jews. Why his wonderful works should be most frequent amongst this people, this reason is as plain as probable, from the end. This people was placed as a light unto all the nations of the world besides: they enjoyed extraordinary prosperity that others might be allured to reverence them, and taste the goodness of their God; their unusual judgments and strange kind of afflictions were as so many proclamations unto the world, to beware of like rebellion; seeing all the world was set on wickedness, and God had appointed a day wherein he would judge the world in righteousness, necessary it was to set out a pattern of his mercy and justice in some people; and
68 without wrong to any other, it was his especial favour to make choice of Abraham's seed for this purpose, on whom he showered his mercies in greatest abundance, whilst they were obedient and faithful in the works of Abraham; but when *they rebelled, and vexed his holy Spirit, then he turned to be their enemy, and he fought against them*[s], making them continual examples of his unpartial judgments, as shall appear in the next section.

[s] Isa. lxiii. 10.

SECT. III.

THE THIRD SECTION

OF

THE SECOND GENERAL PART.

LIB. I.

Containing Experiments drawn from the Revolution of States, or God's Public Judgments, but especially of the Estate of the Jews from Time to Time.

OF all external experiments, the most firm and solid, for assuring the truth of these Divine oracles unto our souls, are gathered from the revolution of states, or God's judgments upon several lands and people. In the observation of which, the continual story of the Jewish nation doth best direct us. The intercourse of their particular afflictions, before our Saviour's time; the manner of their recovery from them, as from so many spices of some grievous disease growing upon them; "the epidemical disease which through every generation haunts theirs, since they desired our Saviour's blood to be upon them and their children [t];" are so many *probata*, or tried experiments, that these celestial precepts contain the only method of preserving the public or private welfare of mankind, whose observations may cure, whose neglect will breed, all the misery that can befall any people. And this method I would wish every Christian to follow; first, diligently to consider the state of the Jews from time to time, for it evidently confutes the atheist, and confirms the truth of the Old Testament; and the truth of it established doth most evidently confute the Jew,

[t] Crantzius l. 10. Wandal. c. 18. Christiano sanguine abuntur ad restinguendum cruorem qui perpetuo illis fluat, whose fathers cried, *His blood be on us and our children.*

and witness the truth of the gospel unto us, as shall be proved (God willing) in due place.

69

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the State of the Jews in general before our Saviour's Time, with Tully's Objection against them.

1. IT is storied of Alphonsus the Great[u], that being sometime prisoner to his enemies, he did so carry himself amongst them, and prescribe them such conditions for his release, as might argue that they had overcome him only by chance. This was not so strange in a prince, so famous and venerable for the integrity of his whole life, and so amiable in his carriage towards his enemies; a man, as it were, made to overcome and quell all the spiteful malice or base intendments that could be devised against him, by his heroical open heart, and bountiful hand towards all, and indefatigable clemency even towards such as sought to outvie it by ingratitude, and just provocation of his heaviest displeasure. But that the Jews, a people whom others' prejudicial conceit of their peevish, selfconceited singularity, (raised from their strict observation of laws contrary to the customs of other people,) had made for the most part odious, ere known unto the world, should *victi victoribus leges dare*[x], being captives give laws unto their conquerors, even to such as sought to triumph in their disgrace, as birds over an owl caught in a snare; did justly minister occasion of wonderment to sundry heathen, and might have taught the proudest and mightiest of their enemies, that they had overcome

[u] Enimvero tanta fuit autoritas Alphonsi, ut etiam victus conditiones dixerit, et victores victi metu cesserint, quasi victoriam casu non virtute se consecutos arbitrati Ant. Panormitan. l. 4. de dict. et Fact. Alphon. [section 22.]

[x] August. (ex Seneca) l. 6. de Civit. Dei, c. 11.

them only by permission or chance, or (if these words seem unfit) for want of that good hap and favour in their battles, which they after their overthrows finding, became by it in a sort conquerors of their enemies, even whilst they were detained in captivity.

2. The full height and amplitude of those fortunes, whereof this people was only capable, would bring the natural man (could he fully comprehend them) within perfect ken of that incomprehensible, omnipotent power, which was only able to effect them. But because these cannot be taken by any ethnic observations, which reach not near those ancient times wherein their extraordinary success was most conspicuous; we must gather them from the manner of their state's declining, since it hath been known to ethnic or other writers, not liable to suspicion of partiality on their behalf. God in his providence (as Moses' prophecies compared with later, and the succession of their histories, testify) had ordained, as the fulness of time and their iniquity drew near, his favours toward them should decrease by such an uniform proportion, that their contraction in later might notify their excessive greatness in former times. The manner of their deliverance from the Babylonish captivity (to such as rightly observe the diverse manner of God's proceeding in different ages before specified) will give the true estimate of wonders wrought for their forefathers: and Cyrus' favour towards them will appear most credible, from the representation of like extraordinary kindness shewed them in Egypt by Ptolomæus Philadelphus[y]; who, though their supreme lord by right of conquest, set at liberty a hundred thousand of their bodies, captivated by his

[y] Of the favours that God procured the Jews from divers kings, &c. see Josephus, Antiq. l. 12. c. 2, 3. l. 14. c. 16 [aliis c. 8.] l. 16. c. 1 c. 4—7. [5, 6, 7.]

70 father, to submit himself unto their laws, which he (directed by the Divine providence) caused to be translated into the most known tongue then on earth, through which the nations (as it were through a perspective glass) might better discern the new Star of Jacob, which was shortly to arise.

3. It is a point without the circumference of politic observation, plainly arguing such a celestial providence as can control the purposes of the greatest princes, why Jerusalem, so often ruinate, should still be repaired again; or the temple continue in such beauty after it had so often fallen into the enemy's hands; especially seeing the flourishing state of the one was apprehended by their conquerors as a great encouragement, and the fortification of the other as a great opportunity of this people's rebellion; upon which consideration Artaxerxes did inhibit the execution of Cyrus' grant for the reedifying of Hierusalem[z]. The city walls had been razed since the time of the Babylonish captivity, (which was before any heathen historiographer of note,) first by Ptolomy the First; secondly, by Pompey the Great; and yet repaired before Vespasian's time, who overthrew their strongest munitions, as Adrian afterwards did the same, once again repaired.

4. The truth again of that favour which they found under the Egyptians (though otherwise known by un-

[z] Ezra iv. 17. 1 Esdr. ii. 25, &c. Jos. [c. 2. page 550.] l. 11. Antiq. cap. 3. Etsi Cambysem pro Artaxerxe habeat. Appianus de Bell. Syriac. [cap. 50.] Yet here is omitted the reedification by Hircanus in Julius his time. Jos. Ant. l. 14. c. 16. [c. 8. p. 698.] Their demolishing by Sosius, l. 14. c. 28. [c. 16. p. 735.] et l. 15. c. 1. p. 740. reedifying in Caius his time. Joseph. Antiq. l. 14. c. 17. [c. 10. p. 705.] and in Claudius his time. Empto jure muniendi, struxere muros in pace tanquam ad bellum. Tacitus, Hist. l. 5. [cap. 12.]

partial writers,) is more than credible in itself, from the extraordinary favour which they found amongst the nations, about the time of their conquest by Pompey. Tully tells us in his oration *pro Flacco*[a], that gold was transported out of Italy itself, and all the rest of the Roman provinces, for garnishing the temple of Hierusalem. The prohibition of this practice in Asia, enacted by Flaccus governor of that province, was afterward laid to his charge, though the like had been decreed by the Roman senate in the time of Tully's consulship. It was no little prejudice unto his cause, that Pompey in the conquest of that city did think so reverently of the Jews' religion and temple, that albeit he[b] viewed the golden table, candlestick, and other vessels of like metal, with many costly ornaments, and two thousand talents of their sacred treasure; yet did he not diminish so much as one jot of it, nor spoil Jerusalem's temple of any ornaments, to beautify the temples of his Roman gods. This abstinence of Pompey, Tully in the forecited place acknowledgeth, albeit, (for bettering the cause he had in hand,) unwilling to confess that Pompey did abstain for any religious respect of the Jews or their laws: for after many shifts, he takes this as the best argument to elevate the Romans' conceit of the Jewish religion[c]; "Whilst Jerusalem flourished and the Jews were quiet, yet their sacred rites were altogether dissonant unto the splendor of the Roman empire, the gravity of that nation,

[a] [Cap. 28.]

[b] Jos. de Bell. Jud. l. 1. [c. 7.]

[c] Cicero pro Flacco. [ibid.] Sua cuique civitati religio, Læli, est, nostra nobis. Stantibus Hierosolymis, pacatisque Judæis, tamen istorum religio sacrorum a splendore hujus imperii, gravitate nominis nostri, majorum institutis abhorrebat. Nunc vero hoc magis, quod illa gens, quid de imperio nostro sentiret, ostendit armis; quam chara diis immortalibus esset, docuit, quod est victa, quod elocata, quod servata.

and the institution of their ancestors; much more (as he thought) should the Romans now make less account of that nation, which had given perfect proof what good-will they had borne unto the Romans, by their late taking arms against them. And what good-will the immortal gods did bear to them, their late fortunes did witness; in that they had been vanquished, made tributary, and (as he thought) were at the Romans' disposition for their preservation or destruction."

71 5. If these Jews' late subjection were any disparagement to their religion, much more might Pompey's and Tully's overthrow discredit the Roman gods, which Pompey's faction did reverence more than Cæsar's; yea Fortune itself, on whose favour[d] Tully relied after he had fallen out with all the rest, could not be excused, if earthly calamity were any just presumption of impiety against Heaven. But if Tully would have sought but the first fountain of his country's rack, want of reverence to the Jewish temple and their religion was cause of Pompey's and Crassus' overthrow, and their overthrow the ruin of the Roman state.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Pompey's ill success after his entry of the Sanctum Sanctorum: the manner of his death fitting his sin. Of Crassus, Cassius, &c.

The original causes of Pompey's fortune's sudden alteration.

1. I KNOW the secular politician can espy many oversights in Pompey's proceeding against Cæsar, and assign other causes of his disaster: but he that had gone into the temple of the Lord with more reverence than Pompey did, might have understood that it was his unhallowed progress into the most holy place, which had set an untimely period to his greatness' growth. This was the mainspring or head of all his

[d] Lib. Epist. ad Attic.

other particular errors observed by secular politicians. Hitherto he had marvellously prospered in all his ways; Fortune had been his guide, and Felicity his attendant. Although his wisdom and experience would not suffer him to oversee any thing that lay within the compass of warlike skill, yet happy chance delighted to have a finger in his proceedings, always bringing somewhat to his aid and furtherance, from beyond the hemisphere of human policy; so as the issue and product of all his enterprises were still discerned to be greater than could amount from the particular means forecast by him or his counsellors for their achievement. He had the help of wind and weather to prosecute his foes by sea[e]; the favour of moon and stars[f] to make him conqueror by land. Thus Fates had been his friend, until his ascending the holy mount: but upon his descent thence, Fortune (to use the Roman's language) began to turn her wheel upon him. His wonted providence and forecast[g] forsook him; and he that in his younger days (when his heart was as full of hopes as his blood of spirits) had used greatest vigilancy to prevent all dangers in matters of smaller moment, whose loss might easily have been recovered; now in that age, whose usual symptoms are timidity and too much care, suffers those consultations on which his own, his friends', his country's fates and fortunes wholly depended, on which the whole state of the world did in

[e] See Tully de Lege Manilia, [cap. 12 et 16.] of Pompey's felicity in his African expedition, and piratical war.

[f] As in his conquest of Mithridate. See Flor. de Gest. Rom. l. 3. cap. 5. Nocturna ea dimicatio fuit. Et luna in partibus, quippe quasi commilitans, cum a tergo se hostibus, a facie Romanis præbuisset, Pontici per errorem longius cadentes umbras suas, quasi hostium corpora petebant. Vid. Stadii comment. in locum.

[g] Vid. Plut. in Pompeio, [vol i. p. 657.] et Appianum [cap. 61. sqq.] de R[illegible] et Dionem, in initi[illegible]

a manner hang, to pass away as in a dream; yielding his irrevocable consent to whatsoever any parasite should propose, in points wherein error and oversight were incorrigible, and their consequence, if bad, remediless; with as great speed and little care, as a man would answer Yes, or Yea, to some idle question proposed unto him betwixt sleeping and waking. Answerable to this his sottish demeanour, Victory, which
72 before had wooed him, once in his last extremity, (like a wanton minion disposed to flout her blind, decrepit, doting lover,) seems a little to make toward him, either wanting eyes to discern her, or wit to give her entertainment[h]. But not Victory herself could make him victorious, in whose death and overthrow the Almighty would have his judgments seen. For seeing it could not content him to have vanquished so many kings and kingdoms, but he will provoke the King of kings in his own house, by his unmannerly intrusion into his most secret closet, reserved alone, of all places of the earth besides, (though all the earth besides were his,) for his holiness' presence, and his priests; it seemed just to this Lord of heaven and earth, the supreme Disposer of all success, to give the kingdoms subdued by Pompey into his fatal enemy's hand, not leaving him so much firm ground of all his conquests as might decently cover his miserable corpse. "Since the foundations of the earth and sea were laid[i], never had so high a flow of all good fortunes, so sudden, so strange, so low and naked an ebb," *ut cui modo de-*

[h] Such was Cæsar's censure.

[i] Hic, post tres consulatus, et totidem triumphos, domitumque terrarum orbem, sanctissimi viri, in id evecti super quod ascendi non potest, duodesexagesimum annum agentis, pridie natalem ipsius, vitæ fuit exitus: in tantum in illo viro a se discordante Fortuna, ut cui modo ad victoriam terra defuerat, deesset ad sepulturam. Vellei. Pater. Histor. lib. 2. [cap. 53.]

fuerat terra ad victoriam, deesset ad sepulturam: that he, who, as the Roman orator saith, had conquered more provinces than almost any of his countrymen had seen, he[k] that had commanded 1000 ships, restored the use of the sea to the nations again, and freed all others from the violence of pirates, sole lord of that element, and the coasts adjoining; should (upon that very day, which in memory of this matchless victory[1] he had celebrated some few years before at Rome with greatest triumph and solemnity) become a prey to a beggarly Egyptian boat, and fall into such base hucksters' hands as knew not the worth of so great a prize, but (as if he had been some ravenous sea-monster, that had lived by public harms, of whose death only some petty commodity might be made) present his head to the chief magistrate in hope of reward, leaving that body, whose goodly presence had overcharged the greatest temples, like a pestiferous carrion, or some offensive garbage, or forlorn spawn, rather hid than buried[m] in a little heap of sand.

[k] Qui mare universum, quod Romanis parebat, pacaverat, in eo ipso periit, qui olim mille navibus (tot enim ferunt) præfuerat, tunc in navicula prope Ægyptum occisus est, idque ab eo Ptolomæo quodammodo, cujus patrem ipse in eam regionem ac regnum reduxerat. Dion. Hist. Rom. lib. 42. [cap. 5.] et statim post. Sic Pompeius, inter Romanos habitus antea potentissimus, ut Agamemnon etiam cognominaretur, quod mille navibus et ipse cum imperio præfuisset, tunc quasi unus de extremæ sortis Ægyptiis, ad montem Cassium interiit, ea ipsa die, qua quondam de Mithridate et piratis triumphum duxerat: ut ne in his quidem extrema cum primis convenerint.

[1] The piratical was the most honourable war that ever any Roman undertook, and justly deserved a glorious triumph: but Pompey triumphed in his sin, whilst he included Jewry's conquest, as part of that day's glory, which the Lord for this reason would have defaced by his miserable death, as he had polluted the solemnity of God's sabbath in Jerusalem, for he took it on the sabbath day. Vid. Joseph. lib. 1. de Bell. Jud. cap. 5. [aliis c. 7. p. 67.] And Dion. l. 66. [cap. 7.] says that Titus did so, *ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Κρόνου ἡμέρᾳ, ἣν μάλιστα ἐτὶ καὶ νῦν Ἰουδαῖοι σέβουσι.*

[m] *Τῷ ναοῖς βρίθοντι πόση σπάνις ἔπλετο τύμβου*; vix caperet tem-

2. The strange stupidity, and more strange destiny of this famous prince, so wise by nature, so well experienced, and always before this time most fortunate, did argue to the heathens' apprehension that "he was Θεοβλαβῆς[o]," as we would say, "taken in the brain by the hand of God, and his hopes blasted from above." But such is the preposterous dulness of human sagacity in Divine matters, that even where the print of God's ways is most sensible and perspicuous, the wisest of us run counter still until his word direct our footsteps, and his Spirit give life unto our senses. For the most
73 religious amongst the Romans, deeming Pompey such as they thought themselves, one that had never given just offence to any of their gods; upon his miscarriage either altogether disclaim[p] the Divine providence, or else exclaim against the ingratitude or malignity of celestial powers; as if there had been no other god or gods, but such as they and Pompey had well deserved of. Whereas his fatal overthrow, whom their gods they thought had most reason to favour, should have instructed them that there was a God of gods in Jewry, which did bear rule over the ends of the world, who would not be worshipped after their fashion, as Pompey dreamed. For the reason of his desire to see the most holy place, was, to be resolved whether the Romans, which worshipped the gods of every nation subdued by them, had not that God already which the Jews adored: but finding no graven image[q], nor like-

The Romans' preposterous and impious collections upon Pompey's overthrow.

plum quem parva recondit arena. Epitaph. Pompeii apud Appian. l. 2. de Bell. Civ. [cap. 86.]

o Appian. ibid. [cap. 81.]

p Hence were these and like complaints: Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet; at Cato parvo, Pompeius nullo; quis putet esse Deos?

q Romanorum primus Cn. Pomp. Judæos domuit. Templumque jure victoriæ ingressus est. Inde vulgatum, nulla intus Deum effigie, vacuam sedem, et inania arcana. Tacitus lib. 5. [cap. 9.] Histor. Vide Florum l. 3. c. 5. [in fine.]

ness of any thing in heaven or earth, many Romans, which till that time had lived in suspense and admiration who this God of the Jews should be, held their concealed mysteries for mere gulleries, and thought it folly to worship they knew not whom, for *incerti Judæa Dei*; yet were his judgments upon this great peer of Rome, the first among that people that had to do with the Jews, most certain, yet judgments mixed with mercy and long-suffering. Seeing Uzzah, and Uzziah king of Judah, for intermeddling in the priests' office, were smitten, the one with sudden death, the other with continual leprosy until his dying day, who can expect that this alien should escape unpunished for like presumption? Nevertheless, because he did approach the most holy place, though with an unsanctified heart, yet with no sacrilegious hands, he had a longer time of repentance than his next peer in might amongst the Romans, his predecessor in like miserable and disgraceful death, though his successor in like, but more shameful, sacrilegious, base profaneness.

The miscarriage of Crassus parallel to the manner of his sin against Jerusalem.

3. That sacrilege was one especial cause of Crassus' miscarriage in the Parthian wars, the heathens of that time had observed; and it may be, Plutarch, from unwritten traditions the nurse of error, did mistake the story. Sure it was not the goddess of Hierapolis, but the God of the holy city, which made the young and aged to stumble one against another. Or if Crassus and his son had this first omen of their overthrow at their egress out of this goddess's temple; this doth

[r] Lucan. 2. lib. [line 593.]

[s] Γίνεται δὲ πρῶτον αὐτῶ σημεῖον ἀπὸ τῆς Θεοῦ ταύτης, ἣν οἱ μὲν Ἀφροδίτην, οἱ δὲ Ἥραν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὰς καὶ σπέρματα πᾶσιν ἐξ ὑγρῶν παραχοῦσαν αἰτίαν καὶ φύσιν νομίζουσι, καὶ τὴν πάντων εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἀρχὴν ἀγαθῶν καταδείξασαν ἐξιόντων γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, πρῶτος ἐσφάλη κατὰ τὰς πύλας ὁ νεανίας Κράσσος, εἶτ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ περιπεσὼν ὁ πρεσβύτερος, &c. Plutarch in Crasso. [vol. i. p. 553.]

not argue that it was either solely or principally for this offence therein committed; albeit even sacrilegious wrongs against the heathen gods did oft redound to the true God's dishonour, being not intended by worldly-minded men so much against them in particular, as in contempt of Deity, or Divine power simply: nor are such warnings usually sent immediately[t] upon the principal fact, but rather after continuance in the like. And the vicinity of this place's name[u] (which was a second witness of Crassus' sins) might have put him in mind of his former misdeeds in Jerusalem, with whose sacred treasure he had dealt just so, as Plutarch
74 saith he did with the treasury of that goddess of Hierapolis. Which makes me suspect that Plutarch did mistake the story. For as Josephus tells us, he took away the two thousand talents which Pompey left untouched, and eight thousand besides. But such was the heathens' prejudice of the Jews, that the least injury offered to their idol gods was more than the most grievous sacrilege that could be devised against the God of Israel. The worst that could be done against his temple, was, in many of their opinions, but as reproachful words, which can bear no action, because not easily appliable to any determinate person: with many of them it was all one, *non esse Deos, et non apparere,* represented in some visible shape or image. Thus Polybius, otherwise an ingenuous writer, imputes the

[t] As the destruction of Hierusalem did not immediately follow upon our Saviour's, but upon his servant S. James's unjust death.

[u] This Hierapolis was Bambyca or Edessa, where Dirceto the great Syrian goddess was worshipped, as appears from Strabo's 16th book: [p. 748.] *ὑπέρκειται δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ σχοίνους τέτταρας διέχουσα ἡ Βαμβύκη, ἣν καὶ Ἔδεσσαν καὶ Ἱερὰν πόλιν καλοῦσιν, ἐν ᾗ τιμῶσιν τὴν Συρίαν θεὰν τὴν Ἀταργάτιν.* It was beyond Euphrates, whereas Crassus had ominous signs of his destruction at his first passage over that river. Plutarch. [p. 554.]

cause of Antiochus Epiphanes' sudden and fearful death, unto his intended pillage of the goddess Artemis' temple; whenas this miscreant was guilty of that actual crime before, for ransacking the temple of Jerusalem. (See Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 13. [aliis cap. 9. p. 621.]) But as the plenary cause of Crassus' miserable and shameful death, was his shamelessly miserable and sacrilegious mind in general; so in the means or manner of his end, the Almighty would have his particular offences against his priest and temple to be most eminent and conspicuous. Eleazar[y] the high priest, seeing him wholly bent to make a golden harvest of the Parthian expedition, feared lest he should rake all the sacred treasure into his coffers. For preventing of which mischief he presents him with a golden beam, whereon the hangings of the temple hung, hoping thereby to redeem the rest of the sacred treasure; but he having gotten this into his hands, which otherwise he could not have found, (being covered with wood,) contrary to his oath, most agreeable to his humour, seized upon all the residue. Yet gold, which he thus greedily sought, as (to his seeming) the only sure nerve of war, by the Almighty's disposition, became the indissoluble chain of his dismal fates. As love to it had made him perjure himself to circumvent God's priest, so did it expose him to circumvention by a perjured villain[z], who, having found out his appetite,

[y] Eleazarus cum videret Crassum totum esse in colligendo auro, timens omnibus templi ornamentis, trabem hanc, redemptionem pro omnibus ei dedit, cum prius eum jurejurando obstrinxisset, nihil aliud loco moturum, contentum eo quod ipse traderet, æstimatum plurimis aureorum millibus. Hæc trabs inserta erat trabi cavæ ligneæ, quod cæteris omnibus ignotum, solus sciebat Eleazarus. Crassus tamen et hanc pro reliquo templi auro accepit, et mox violato jurejurando totum quantum intus erat egessit. Joseph. Ant. lib. 1. 12. [aliis cap. 7. p. 694.]

[z] Maximam autem partem Augarus ipsis C

prepared a fit bait for his bane. For by feeding this greedy thirst of gold, he insinuated himself into the society of his secrets, which he disclosed unto the Parthian. Had Crassus' wits naturally been so dull, or had he usually shewed himself so gross and sottish as he proved in this expedition, he had never borne any place among the Romans, much less had they ever permitted him to manage any foreign wars. But partly from his prodigious stupidity[a], uncapable of any warning by so many ominous signs and tokens, as did stupify his whole army besides, partly from his more than brutish facility, in taking an uncouth way, (as if he had been a tame beast before the drover,) until he came to the very stand, where his enemies stood with their bows bent, and their arrows of death made ready upon the string for his destruction, all the Roman writers agree, that he was led awry by sinister fates. Now if they had but once read what God he was that had blinded Absalom to disclaim Achitophel's good counsel, and ratify Hushai's plot for his overthrow, 2 Sam. xvii, they would easily have granted that the same God, and no other, had infatuated[b] Crassus' heart

tulit. Is Romanis ante fœdere junctus, sub Pomp. Barbarorum partes tum potiores habuit. Quod idem Alchaudonius quoque Arabs fecit, semper potentiori se solitus adjungere: cæterum hic quia manifesto defecerat a Romanis caveri facile potuit. Augarus autem, quum Partho studeret, simulavit se Crassi amicum, liberaliterque ei pecuniam suam impendens, et exploravit omnia ejus consilia, et Partho enunciavit. Dion. lib. 40. [cap. 20.]

[a] Vid. Plutarch. in Crasso. [p. 559.] Dionem l. citato. [cap. 17.] Appian. de Bell. Parth. [vol. 3. p. 37.]

[b] Tum Cassiani rursum ægre ferebant, et omisso Crasso, qui monitores audire gravabatur conviciis incessebant Abgarum, (in Greek, Acbarus; in Dion. Augarus; and in Plut. in Crass. Ariamnes.) Sceleratissime hominum, quis te malus dæmon ad nos adduxit? quibus veneficiis, quibus præstigiis persuasisti Crasso ut per vastas solitudines iter faceret, Numidæ latrorum principi magis decorum quam Romano imperatori? Ille versipellis confortabat eos blanditiis, et hortabatur, durarent paulisper: milites vero sublevabat accurrens, et cum risu cavillabatur: quid,

to renounce Cassius, and other grave experienced Roman warriors' wholesome advice, and betake himself wholly to the barbarous fugitive Augarus' directions, suborned by the Parthian to betray him.

4. But Cassius, much wiser than his general in this one particular of mistrusting foreigners, was afterwards as far overseen in the main chance, and overtaken with that sin which had caused Crassus' blindness: first, polluted with like sacrilege[c], and cruel oppression of these Jews: then with his own blood[d], shed by his servant at his commandment, upon as gross an oversight as Crassus had committed. So shall they

per Campaniam vos iter facere putatis, ut requiratis fontes ac rivos et umbras, scilicet, balneasque et continuata pene diversoria? non meministis vos transire per Arabum et Assyriorum confinia? Ita tum Abgarus Romanos quasi pædagogus quidam castigabat: et priusquam deprehenderetur in perfidia abequitavit, non clam, sed ex consensu Crassi, fingens se curaturum necessaria et turbaturum consilia hostium. Appian. de Bell. Parth. [pag. 39.] Augarus, si quod utile consilium Crassus cepisset, dehortatus hominem est: sin damnosum, confirmavit; ac tandem hujusmodi rem confecit. Crassus Seleuciam contendere decreverat, quo se tuto cum exercitu ac commeatu præter Euphratem ac trans eundem pervenire posse cogitabat: a Seleucia (quam ut a Græcis hominibus habitatam, facile sperabat in suam potestatem venturam) ad Ctesiphontem urbem haud difficulter se trajecturum. Id consilium, tanquam multo tempore opus habiturum, ut repudiaret, ac potius adversum Surenam, qui prope cum parva manu esset, iret, Augarus persuasit. Quibus constitutis, cum Crassum ut periret, Surenam (cum quo sub speculandi prætextu frequenter congrediebatur) ut superare posset, paravisset, Romanos nihil solicitos, ac tanquam ad certam jam victoriam proficiscentes, eduxit: in eisque tum per insidias opprimendis Parthum adjuvit. Dion. lib. 40. [cap. 20.] As he came into this danger by Augarus' treachery, so was he slain after he had yielded himself unto Surenas, contrary to his oath and promise. Vid. Appian. l. citato, [p. 62.] et Strabon. l. 16. [p. 747.]

[c] So saith St. Augustin de Civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 45. Postea, (i. post Pompeii victoriam de Judæis) Cassius templum spoliavit. Of his cruel exactions in Judæa, vide Joseph. Antiq. l. 14. c. 18. [aliis c. 11. p. 716.]

[d] Of his gross error in mistaking his victorious friend for his persecuting enemy, vide Velleium Paterculum, l. 2. et reliquos Rom. hist. autores.

all, sooner or later, be infatuate, that rob God of his honour, and put their trust in wrong and violence. And thus till this time did they perish all, as many as bare ill-will to Sion; for Hierusalem's hour was not yet come, because the Day-spring had not visited her from on high. The glory of her temple was not as yet revealed; unto whom, after her children had offered greater disgrace than the Romans had done to their temple, the staff of her wonted stay begins to break, the bonds of her former peace untwine, and only one part of her double fates remain; if then she fall, she riseth not again, she hath no inclination left but to destruction; the burden of the fathers' sins, and the yoke of captivity due thereto, grows heavier and heavier in the descent upon posterity, without all hope of recovery, much less of revenge, upon such as offer her greatest violence; but rather happy shall that man be thought, and highest earthly honour shall be the wages of his service, that rewards her children as they had served their Lord and Saviour. But these times were not come in Crassus' or Cassius' days, in which some relics of her ancient hopes remained, to see the rods and scourges of her correction consume and wither, after once the Almighty had taken off his punishing hand. And if unto these three above mentioned, we add the like destiny of Antony and Scipio, and the ill success of the other Romans who had aught to do with these Jews before our Saviour's time; we may
76 conclude, that although the Romans were then lords of the earth, yet this people, whom they held as base, retained the privilege of God's royal priests. Although the souls of all flesh were the Lord's, who for this cause revenged the oppressed in every nation; yet Israel only (as the prophet speaks) *was as a thing hallowed unto the Lord, his firstfruits; all such as*

devoured them did offend, evil should come upon them[e], although inflicted by their own or their servants' hands at their appointment. Lastly, if we call to mind the former distinction of ages, and the diverse manner of God's dealing with them, before and after the Babylonish captivity; the contraction or abridgment of their large privileges, in the long succession of times foretold by ancient, and acknowledged by their own later writers: we cannot mistrust the amplitude of their fundamental charter, or their historical narrations of what the Lord had done of old unto Jabin, Sisera, and Sennacherib, would we (allowing some different condition of times) compare theirs with Pompey's and his complices' unusual fates. God's power was more immediately manifested in the one, his wisdom more admirable in the other, his justice the same in both. Yet a Roman would reply: If Pompey had so grievously offended, why should he not have borne the whole burden of his sins? So he should, had either he alone offended, or the Romans suffered him to have lived a private life; but if they will associate themselves as members to their natural head, and profess their service and allegiance unto him, that stood as proscribed by the court of heaven; God's quarrel with the whole faction is most just, all of them are guilty of their general sins, all liable to the plagues and punishments due thereto. Yet, besides that Pompey's intolerable presumption and profaneness, according to the usual course of God's justice, might propagate his destiny unto such of his adherents as had been free from any actual wrong done to the Jews, or contempt of their God and religion in particular; a great many of his chief followers had polluted themselves with the like sin in Jerusalem. For, as Josephus tells

God's judgments upon Pompey's faction were most just, because they had participated of his sin.

[e] Jerem. ii. 3. Levit. xxiii. 10.

us[f], Pompey went not into the most holy place alone, but accompanied with a multitude. All of them, no doubt, had sinned presumptuously against the admonitions and threatenings of God's priests; and this people's curse (it seems) did follow them, whither they themselves durst not; for, as the same writer testifies, "No other calamity in that war did grieve the nation so much, as this polluting of their temple."

5. Whatsoever Tully's or other politic Romans' conceit of this people in his time was; many amongst the Romans, as well as in most other nations, had (without question) either observed the like fatal mischances of such as vexed them, or else had felt some good in observing their laws, whose persons unknown they hated. In one or both which respects, these Jews stood upon better terms with their conquerors, than any other captives did. And unless it had been a received opinion amongst other Romans, that this had been a people favoured of the Divine powers; why should Tully have objected their late conquest by Pompey to prove the contrary? And, methinks, it might have moved him and others, so much devoted
77 to the Roman gods before, to have thought these Jews did serve a better God than they knew any, after they had seen their own state utterly ruined without all hope of recovery, and their gods either unwilling or unable (as Tully doubtfully complains) to redress those miseries and calamities, of which they should

[f] Judæorum quidem 12 millia occubuerunt: Romanorum vero perpauci, sed plures sauciati sunt. Nihil autem gravius in illa Clade Judæorum genti visum est, quam sanctum illud Arcanum, neque cuiquam prius visum, alienis esse detectum. Denique Pompeius una cum suis comitibus in templum ingressus, ubi neminem præter pontificem adesse fas erat, quæ intus erant candelabra cum lychnis et mensis in quibus libare atque adolere moris est, et vascula ex auro cuncta spectavit. Joseph. de Bello Judaico, l. 1. c. 5. [aliis cap. 7. p. 68.]

at least have given them warning, when as Hierusalem's walls, which Pompey had demolished, were (according to this people's hope, from which no power on earth could deject them, being supported by the express promise of their God) reedified within twenty years, and they graced with great privileges for their good service performed to Cæsar. For chiefly by their means became he lord of Egypt, the first and surest ground of his good success in Afric; as Josephus[g] out of the public decrees and testimonies of Roman writers boldly avoucheth, challenging the heathen to disprove him or his testimonies, if they could, though this they easily might have done, if he had cited them amiss, because the originals were then every where extant.

6. The former testimonies alleged out of Tully, (whose works we have,) so well agreeing with Josephus, who it seems had never read them, will not suffer any ingenious man to suspect the truth of that which the same Josephus cites out of Strabo the Cappadocian, whose works are lost. "The Jews," saith he, "have crept into most cities, nor can a man almost name any place in the inhabited world, where they once get footing, but they hold possession. Egypt, Cyrene, and many other nations have admitted their rites, and in lieu of them, nurse huge multitudes of Jews using their own domestic law. Besides that a great part of Alexandria is assigned to their use, there be colonies of this nation throughout Egypt which enjoy magistrates of their own, for determining all controversies of right and wrong, in such sort and form as is used in absolute states[h]." Saint Augustine[i] hath

[g] Vide Joseph. l. 14. Antiq. cap. 14—17. [aliis cap. 8. et 9. p. 696.]

[h] Quatuor erant genera in Cyrenensium urbe, cives, agricolæ, inquilini, et quarti Judæi, hoc jam in omnes urbes subrepsit, &c. Jos. Ant. l. 14. c. 12. [aliis c. 7. p. 694.]

[i] Seneca inter alias civilis

the same observation out of Seneca's books, concerning superstition, which this reverend father had perused, though, with divers others of that famous philosopher's works, now lost.

7. What Strabo had observed of these Jews in Syllas, and Seneca in his time, is intimated by Tully in fewer words. "You know well," saith he unto his adversary, "what a great faction it is; how closely they band together, what sway they bear in assemblies[k]." But how great soever the number of this people was at Rome, they durst not have been so bold in the mistress city of the world, unless their patrons there had been many. And it seems by Tully's conclusion, in the forementioned place, that the bare unkindness offered by Flaccus to this nation, was worse taken at Rome, than the wrongs and violence which he was accused to have done to sundry other people. "The gold," saith he, "for which Flaccus was accused, is in the treasury: you charge him not with theft, but only seek to make him odious: your speech is turned from the judges, and directed to the company[l]."

theologiæ superstitiones reprehendit sacramenta Judæorum. Christianos tamen jam tunc Judæis inimicissimos in neutram partem commemorare ausus est, ne vel laudaret contra suæ patriæ veterem consuetudinem, vel reprehenderet contra propriam forsitan voluntatem. De illis sane Judæis, cum loqueretur, ait, cum interim usque eo sceleratissimæ gentis consuetudo convaluit, ut per omnes jam terras recepta sit, victi victoribus leges dederunt—. Mirabatur hæc dicens, et quid divinitus ageretur, ignorans, subjecit plane sententiam, qua significaret, quid de illorum sacramentorum ratione sentiret. Ait enim: Illi tamen causas ritus sui noverunt, et major pars populi facit, quod cur faciat, ignorat. Aug. l. 6. de Civit. c. 11.

[k] Sequitur auri illa invidia Judaici. Hoc nimirum est illud, quod non longe a gradibus Aureliis hæc causa dicitur, ob hoc crimen hic locus, abs te, Læli, et illa turba quæsita est. Scis quanta sit manus, quanta concordia, quantum valet in concionibus, &c. Cic. Orat. pro Flacco. [cap. 28.]

[l] Aurum in ærario est, furtum non reprehenditur, a judicibus oratio avertitur, vox in coronam turbamque effunditur. Cic. Orat. pro Flacco. [ibid.]

CHAP. XX. 78

Tacitus' Objections against the Jews refuted, by their palpable grossness, and more competent Testimony of other Heathen Writers.

1. UNTO this their powerfulness in persuading other nations to renounce their own, and embrace their laws and religion, Tacitus[m] ascribes the increase of these Jews' estate; albeit he maliciously attributes this attractive force unto the impiety of their laws, as if by sympathy they had wrought most upon wicked and depraved natures. But wherein did their impiety consist? "What we Romans esteem sacred, they account profane; what is polluted to us, is lawful to them[n]." This argues that either the Roman religion or theirs was superstitious and profane: and he, like a true patriot and right Romanist, loath to suspect that religion wherein his forefathers had prospered so well, charges the contrary orthodoxal with superstitious impiety. Most true it was, that the Jews of his time were a wicked people, but every way of the losing hand; their strength, which had been long in gathering, was suddenly broke by Titus, and their wonted means of increase, by addition of proselytes, quite cut off. For after the temple's destruction, *nullus ad amissas ibat amicus opes;* from the first day of our Saviour's ministerial function, they did not win half so many Gentiles to Judaism, as our Saviour and his disciples did Jews unto Christianity. Tacitus then spake not of such Jews as lived in his time, when their strength and greatness was in the wane; but of

[m] Hi ritus quoquo modo inducti, antiquitate defenduntur. Cætera instituta sinistra, fœda, pravitate valuere. Nam pessimus quisque spretis religionibus patriis, tributa et stipes illuc congerebant. Tacit. Hist. l. 5. [cap. 5.]

[n] Profana illic omnia, quæ apud nos sacra. Rursum concessa apud illos, quæ nobis incesta. Idem ibid. [cap. 4.]

their ancestors, during the time of the second temple. Nor was it that, which was most wicked indeed in this people, or their predecessors, (as their particular opposition, or contrariety unto Divine truths,) but rather what was only good in them, as their constancy in their religion, and steadfast profession of Abraham's faith, common to them and the Christians, which was the ground of this politic's hateful censure, for this reason alike bitter against them and the Christians. That either should be so resolute in defence of their own religion, was, in his opinion, a pernicious superstition, liable to any punishment that could be imposed, as another Roman writer[o] of his time was not ashamed to avouch. If wilfulness simply deserve punishment, the carnal minded make no scruple in what measure it be inflicted, seeing the more grievous the torture is, the greater it always argues their wilfulness or obstinacy to be that will undergo it rather than obey their superiors, so as the crime seem always commensurable to the punishment, though it could be increased *in infinitum*. And Tacitus seems well to approve of Antiochus's savage cruelty against the Jews, as a medicine that would in time have wrought a reformation, if the Parthian had permitted this cruel chirurgion to have applied his patients with change of such corroding plaisters. So immoderate is the ambitious man's desire, that to be lord of others' bodies
79 doth but whet his appetite, and stir up a longing to become lord of their faith and consciences also. And to refuse absolute obedience in matters spiritual, as

The grounds of worldly greatness's hatred against resolute professors of truth.

[o] Interim in iis, qui ad me tanquam Christiani deferebantur, hunc sum sequutus modum. Interrogavi ipsos, an essent Christiani confitentes iterum ac tertio rogavi, supplicium minatus, perseverantes duci jussi. Neque enim dubitabam, qualecunque esset quod faterentur, *pervicaciam certe, et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri*, Plin. Epist. l. 10. Epist. 100. alit. 97.

well as temporal, unto such as are competent judges of the one, not of the other, is a sin as hateful as rebellion, the foulest crime that can be conceived or fashioned in the politician's brain.

2. Besides these general motives, which would minister enough of matter for superiors to condemn their inferiors; it did in particular exasperate Tacitus, and other politics of his temper, to see so many natural Romans renounce their name and country, forsake father and mother, friend and alliance, for maintenance of Jewish religion. And albeit that nation had sustained incredible calamities by the Romans, yet it vexed him to remember, that they should be able to have done the Romans[p] so much mischief, always stirring when others were quiet; being, to his seeming, a base people in respect of many other subject to the Roman empire. Perhaps his hate to Christians was propagate from his inveterate malice against these Jews, in whose region Christianity (as he confesseth) did first spring. But Pliny's[q] testimony will sufficiently quit the Christians from those imputations, which Tacitus[r] unjustly layeth upon them. As for that impiety wherewith he chiefly chargeth the Jews'

p Judæi (ut est gens ea, iræ, si semel ea correpta fuerit, acerbissimæ) multa ac gravia mala quidem Romanis intulerant, longe tamen plura passi sunt. Dion. lib. 49. [cap. 22.]

q Affirmabant autem hanc esse summam, vel culpæ suæ vel erroris, quod essent soliti *stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere* secum invicem; seque *sacramento* non in scelus aliquod obstringere; sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent——. Quo magis necessarium credidi ex duabus ancillis, quæ *ministræ* dicebantur, quid esset veri, et per tormenta quærere. Sed nihil aliud inveni, quam superstitionem pravam, et immodicam: ideoque dilata cognitione ad consulendum Te decucurri. Plin. Epist. l. 10. Ep. 100. aliis 97.

r Transgressi in morem eorum idem usurpant, nec quidquam prius imbuuntur, quam contemnere Deos, exuere patriam; parentes, liberos, fratres, vilia habere. Tacit. Hist. l. 5. [cap. 5.]

religion, it implies an evident contradiction. "Such as conform themselves," saith he, "to their customs are likewise transformed in mind. The first precept wherewith they are seasoned, is to contemn the gods, to put off all natural affection to their country." If the Jews did either forsake father or mother, or other kindred, it was for the love of their God, religion, and country. For, unless the greatness of their love to God drowned the other, no people in the world did ever match them in love to their kinsfolks, friends, and countrymen. But if they persuaded the Romans to esteem the glory of Rome as vile, in respect of Hierusalem, and account Romish rites and ceremonies, compared with theirs, as sacrilegious and profane; they did that but upon good and warrantable grounds, which any true Roman would have done upon far worse; that is, they sought their country's good, by winning the good-will of others to their estate and religion.

3. But what madness possessed Tacitus his mind, that he should think, or rather write, (for I do not think that he thought, or cared what he wrote, when he avouched,) that the wickedness of their laws was a means of alluring wicked or lewd companions to their observance? I would their greatest enemies were admitted judges; whether such as indeed were, or such as any civil heathen would so account, not such as it pleased Tacitus only, out of mere pride and spleen, to call wicked persons, would not in all likelihood be more ready to subscribe unto the rites of Venus or Bacchus, (whose service Tacitus so well likes,) or any other of the Romish gods, than tie themselves unto Judaical ceremonies; which, once subscribed unto, were
80 to be most strictly observed by aliens as well as Jews; nor could they be throughly acquainted with their laws, or admitted to other mysteries, until they had

communicated with them in that sacrament of circumcision, always most loathsome and grievous to flesh and blood. What pleasures of the flesh, what dissoluteness or luxury, or what that can be properly called sin or enormity, did their laws maintain or nourish, or their rites or ceremonies any way insinuate? All that Tacitus (comparing their rites with those of Bacchus) could in conclusion say against them, was, "That Bacchus his rites were merry and pleasant; theirs, absurd and base[s]."

4. Unto these political surmises of Tacitus, altogether ignorant of foreign antiquities, I will oppose the judgment of Strabo[t], a less partial writer, and a professed antiquary, living about our Saviour's time; from whom, amongst others, we may gather, that the famous and conspicuous hill of Sion stood as a problem to oppose the nations; and from admiration of her strange and unobservable fortunes and change, were so many opinions blazed abroad of those Jews' original and state. Of all that were extant in his time, capable of any credit, this following went best for current, and did sway the most: to wit; that these Jews (as you heard before of his error in this particular) were descended from the Egyptians; the cause of their departure out of Egypt was to seek a place where they might worship God aright, persuaded hereunto by Moses, whom he takes for an Egyptian priest, but one that condemned the Egyptians for painting beasts, the Africans and Grecians for using pictures of men to represent God; deeming it a madness to imagine that he that contained all things could be represented by any visible or sensible creature. Chastity and ho-

[s] Liber festos lætosque ritus posuit; Judæorum mos absurdus sordidusque. Tacit. Hist. lib. 5. [cap. 5.]

[t] Strabo's testimony of the Jews' religion. Lib. 16. p. 761.

liness were the dispositions of such as sought him, or could hope to know his will; and for this purpose ordained sacrifice, neither chargeable to such as should use them, nor otherwise offensive by their undecency, lewdness, or absurdity. "[x]With these persuasions," saith he, "Moses prevailed with the better sort, and such as feared God, to forsake Egypt: and seated once about Jerusalem, neighbour countries did associate themselves unto them, allured by the equity of their laws, and the purity of the religion which they professed; whence he erected a new kingdom, and that no mean one. And his successors for a time continued in his institutions, just, and rightly religious. But after they had (as Tacitus likewise observeth) joined the priesthood to support their kingdom, they grew more superstitious[y], tyrannical to their own, and noisome neighbours to other countries. [z]Yet was their hold or fort still had in honour; not detested as a nest of thieves, or seat of tyrants, but reverenced as a temple." Thus far Strabo. Who, although he were

[x] Ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα λέγων ἔπεισεν εὐγνώμονας ἄνδρας οὐκ ὀλίγους—καὶ παραδώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος τοιοῦτον σεβασμὸν καὶ τοιαύτην ἱεροποιίαν, ἥτις οὐδὲ δαπάναις ὀχλήσει τοὺς χρωμένους, οὔτε θεοφορίαις, οὔτε ἄλλαις πραγματείαις ἀτόποις. οὗτος μὲν οὖν εὐδοκιμήσας τούτοις συνεστήσατο ἀρχὴν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν, ἁπάντων προσχωρησάντων ῥαδίως τῶν κύκλῳ διὰ τὴν ὁμιλίαν καὶ τὰ προτεινόμενα. οἱ δὲ διαδεξάμενοι χρόνους μέν τινας ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς διέμεινον δικαιοπραγοῦντες, καὶ θεοσεβεῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄντες.

[y] Yet was Strabo somewhat offended with circumcision, and their sabbaths, as being ignorant of their causes; as their sabbaths indeed were then superstitious.

[z] Ἦν δ' ὅμως εὐπρέπειά τις περὶ τὸν ἀκρόπολιν αὐτῶν, οὐκ ὡς τυραννεῖον βδελυττομένων, ἀλλ' ὡς ἱερὸν σεμνυνόντων τε καὶ σεβομένων. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 761. See Dion's acquittal of these Jews from Tacitus' imputations. Diversum a reliquis nominibus obtinent, cum aliis in rebus, usuque vitæ quotidiano, tum eo præsertim quod nullum ex cæteris diis colunt, *unum* autem quendam summo studio venerantur. Nec ullum simulachrum Hierosolymis unquam habuerunt, nimirum suum illum Deum Ineffabilem et formæ expertem, religioso ejus cultu cæteros mortales superant. Dion. lib. 37. [cap. 17.]

mistaken in sundry particulars of this people's antiquity, (as all beside themselves of necessity were, by reason this sacred volume was kept secret from all such as did not observe their rites,) yet from tradition he had learned as much as could be known of them in general; that Moses their first lawgiver was a prophet, and one that relied not upon policy, but the Divine oracles; that this people in ancient times had been much better, and had prospered accordingly.

5. With this Strabo the geographer, that noble his- 81
torian Dion Cassius well accords, but more fully with Strabo the Cappadocian, whose works, now lost, Josephus cited. "This people," saith Dion, "differ from others, as in many other points and daily practice of life, so especially in this, that they worship no other gods, but only one of their own, whom they hold to be invisible and ineffable, and for this cause admit not any image of him; yet do they worship him more devoutly and religiously than any other people do their gods." But who this God of theirs was, or how he came at first to be thus worshipped, how greatly he was feared of this people, were points he listed not to meddle withal, many other had written thereof before him. It seems he gave but little credence unto Tacitus' discourse of their original, for he ingeniously professeth, "that he knew not whence they had this name of Jews, but others that followed their rites, although aliens by birth and progeny, did brook the same name or title; even amongst the Romans themselves there were of this profession." He addeth, "Although this people had been often crushed and diminished, yet did they rise and increase again, above the control of all other laws, only subject to their own[a]."

[a] Regio ipsa, Judæa; gens, Judæi appellantur. Id cognomenti unde initium ceperit haud scio. Quin, et alii homines qui

Thus he spake of the Jews living in Pompey's time, after which they had been often crushed before Tacitus wrote, yet recovered strength again.

CHAP. XXI.

The means of these Jews thriving in Captivity. In what they exceeded other People, or were exceeded by them.

1. THESE allegations, and many other, which out of heathen writers I could bring, sufficiently prove, that albeit these Jews tasted of as bitter calamities as any other did, yet had they this strange advantage of all; that whereas all other were forsaken of their friends in their adversity, and their laws usually changed by their conquerors, ofttimes abrogated or neglected by themselves upon their ill success; these Jews still found most friends, and their laws (never forsaken by them) most earnest favourers, in the time of their captivity and distress: "This was quite contrary to nature, politic observation, or custom of the world." Wherefore seeing nature and policy can afford us none, we must seek resolution from their laws. The reasons subordinate to the cause of causes (God's providence) were these. In the time of their distress, they did more faithfully practise their laws themselves, and had better opportunity or greater necessity of communicating them unto others; they being of themselves always most potent to allure sober and discreet minds to their observance, made known and not prejudiced by the foolish or sinister practice of their professors. So their great lawgiver had foretold, Deut. iv. 5—8.

secundum eorum statuta vivunt, id gerunt, quanquam alienigenæ. Est id genus hominum apud Romanos etiam, atque tametsi sæpe imminutum fuerit, ita tamen auctum est, ut etiam condendi leges licentiam sibi vindicarit. Or as some read, ut legum quoque potestatem vicerit. Dion. ibid.

Behold I have taught you ordinances and laws, as the Lord my God commanded me, that ye should do even so in the land whither ye go to possess it. Keep them therefore and do them; for that is your wisdom and understanding in the sight of the people, which 82 *shall hear of all these ordinances, and shall say, Only this people is wise and of understanding, and a great nation. For what nation is so great, unto whom the gods come so near unto them, as the Lord our God is near unto us in all that we come unto him for? And what nation is so great, that hath ordinances and laws so righteous as all this law, which I set before you this day?* That they had not in later times so great prosperity as others had, was no argument that their God was not more near to them, than the gods of other nations to their worshippers; for he was the God of gods, and Lord of lords, which did good to every nation; yea, he made the Romans so great a nation, albeit they knew it not. That these Jews were now in subjection, and the Romans lords, was no argument that he was better to the Romans than to them, or that they were a less nation, if we make an equal comparison. For if God should often recover a man from dangerous diseases, and propagate his life unto two hundred years, in health and strength competent for old age, this were no argument to prove that he were not more favourable to him than to men of younger years or middle age, whose strength is greater for the present, but they unlikely to recover health often impaired, or to renew life once lost in human estimation, or to account half so many years. In like sort was this people's often recovery from so many overthrows and captivities, their long continuance a distinct nation from others, more extraordinary than the Romans' present strength or greatness. And

God was more favourable to these Jews than to any other people.

In what sense the Jews might truly be thought a mighty nation.

albeit many other empires and states were larger than the kingdom of Israel was at any time, yet no other people could be said so great a nation as this. For others continued the same rather by identity of soil, or like form of government, than by any real or material unity or identity of people; their increase was merely political, and their greatness rose by way of addition or accumulation; that is, by admitting such mixture of others, that from the first erection of the kingdom, ere it came to its full greatness, the number of aliens might overspread and hide the natural inhabitants, or progenies of such as laid the fundamental laws thereof, which were seldom so continuate by direct succession, as they might be rightly distinguished from others. And as Theseus his ship was accounted one and the same, because it retained the same form, though not so much of the same timber whereof it was first built, as did go to the making of half the keel; so the greatest states amongst the heathens retained perhaps some few fundamental laws, or relics of ancient families descending from their first founders, in which respect alone they might be taken for one kingdom, but not so properly termed one people or nation, to whom greatness could be truly attributed, seeing a great many of several people were to share in this title. But these Jews (besides the perpetual unity of their particular, as well as fundamental laws, less varied either by change, addition, or abrogation, than the laws of any other nation) continued still one and the same people by a strict union of succession, their growth was natural, after the manner of vital augmentation. For albeit they admitted some mixture of strangers, they could notwithstanding always dis-
83 tinguish the progeny of foreign stocks from their natural branches, which they could still derive from

their several stems, and these all from one and the same root; so that after so many changes, and alterations of their state from better to worse, and back again; after so many glorious victories, as scriptures mention gotten by them over others, and so many captivities of their persons and desolations of their countries, as others had wrought, they remained still one and the same people, by such a kind of unity, as a great oak is said one and the same tree, from its first spring to its last fall, whether naked and bereft of leaves by blasts of autumn or winter's frost, or spoiled of boughs by the lopper's ax, or beautified with pleasant leaf, or farspreading branches. If the glory of other kingdoms were more splendent for a flash, presently to be extinguished, (as being greater than their corruptible nature was capable of;) this no way impeacheth God's promise for making Abraham's seed a mighty nation, seeing it was not at any time so great a people as at all times it might have been, had they observed the means appointed for their growth. How incomparable the height of Sion's roof, above other nations, might have been, we may guess from the capacity of her foundations. The known altitude and continuance of her walls, though never finished to her founder's desire, yet such as whoso shall look upon with an unpartial eye, must acknowledge ordained for extraordinary strength and greatness. For take we this kingdom with its defects, what wonder can revolutions of time afford like to this late mentioned? that by such an unity of natural propagation from one root (almost perished before it sprouted) and distinct lineal succession never interrupted, Abraham's seed should continue one and the same nation for two thousand years: sometimes the mightiest amongst coeval kingdoms, a scourge and terror to all neighbour countries;

The strength and continuance of these Jews' diseased estate, argues how incomparable their strength might have been, had they followed their lawgiver's precepts for the preservation of their health.

and after many grievous wounds and deadly, (in their estimation that gave them, received from others,) still preserved alive, to see the successive rise and fall of three great and potent monarchies, yet able in decrepit days to hold play with the fourth, the mightiest that ever was on earth, even whilst it was in its best age, full strength and perfect health, free from any intestine broils, secure of all external assaults. Much better were these Jews able to encounter the Roman empire, in Tacitus his life time, than it (within three hundred years after his death) to defend the imperial seat against barbarous, silly, and foolish nations, unhatched when the Roman eagle's wings were spread over the most famous kingdoms of the earth. Suppose the Roman empire had received, at the same time, but half so terrible a blow in Italy as the Jews had done in Jewry and Hierusalem under Vespasian and his son, how easily had the commotions of their relics, in Trajan's and Adrian's times, shaken the Roman yoke from off the nation's neck! or if the other ten tribes' return had been but half so entire and complete as Judah's and Benjamin's were, the Roman eagles had never come to prey upon their carcasses in the territories of Judæa. But it was their strong God, which before had scattered Israel amongst the nations, and at the time appointed shut these Jews up in Hierusalem, as in a prison.

The Roman empire had never the like push before it fell, as it had by the Jews in Adrian's time.

84 2. Again, other kingdoms gained little by their greatness, save only magnificent names or swelling titles. No other people enjoyed so great prosperity, so good cheap, as this sometimes did, and all times might have done. No other had so good assurance or security of that prosperity or peace they enjoyed, as this people had, unless themselves had made a wilful forfeiture; nor was the public health or welfare of any

other state or kingdom so fully communicated to every particular and inferior member. For usually the titulary or abstract brightness of that glory, wherewith other great states outwardly seemed most to shine, was maintained with the perpetual harms, and internal secret mischiefs of many private persons, as great flames are not nourished without great store of fuel: whereas the prosperity of David's throne, as in other points so in this, was established like the moon: that whilst they turned unto their God, their state was capable of greatest splendour, without consumption of their natural parts or substance. And even whilst other states did for their sins prevail against theirs, yet such peers as had been principal instruments of their woe, and took occasion to disgrace their laws or religion, in their captivity and distress, had for the most part (as was observed before) fearful and disastrous ends: and might more justly have taken up that complaint, after their spoils of Jewry, which Diomedes did after the destruction of Troy,

Quicumque Iliacos ferro violavimus agros,
. . . . . *infanda per orbem*
Supplicia, et scelerum pœnas expendimus omnes [b].

What did Troy's fall, or Phrygian spoils, the Grecian's state advance?
Whom fearful plagues haunt through the world; such was the victor's chance.

Many of them (no doubt) before their dying day, had observed as he did, that they had fought against some god, whilst they wronged this people, and would have been as unwilling to bear arms against them again, as he was against the relics of the Trojans;

Nec mihi cum Teucris ullum post eruta bellum [c]
Pergama; nec veterum memini lætorve malorum.

[b] [Æneid. xi. l. 255.] [c] [Ibid. l. 279.]

With Troy my spleen to Trojans ceas'd; her flames quench
th' heat of war:
I little joy of what is past; rub not a bleeding scar.

3. For these and many like consequents, this people in the issue and upshot of their greatest calamities had both reason to rejoice, and the heathens just cause to say, *The Lord had done great things for them*[d], albeit he often suffered them to be conquered. For even this sickliness of their state was a means of its long life, their scourges and phlebotomies a sign of God's tender care over their health, until they grew proud of his favour, and waxed obdurate by his often fatherly corrections, as one of their own writers well observes: *The Lord doth not long wait for us, as for other nations whom he punisheth, when they are to come to the fulness of their sins. But thus he dealeth with us, that our sins should not be heaped up to the full, so that afterwards he should punish us. And therefore he never withdraws his mercy from us: and though he punish with adversity, yet doth he never forsake his people*[e].

4. Finally, their decay and increase was such as could not be measured by the rules of policy. Hence was it that Tacitus was not *tacitus*, but a tatler, transported from himself, his wonted sagacity and ingenuity, as being quite out of his natural element, while he meddled with their affairs. That contrariety which he observes betwixt theirs and the Romans' religion, was as great betwixt their policies. What was good in the one was naught in the other: that which Rome did think might preserve her in health, was apprehended, by the wisest amongst this people, as ready poison for their state. Those plots which would have crushed any other people, once brought under,

[d] Psal. cxxvi. 2. [e] 2 Macc. vi. 14.

did oft work their advancement, and their enemy's fall. Whence both their rising and falling, and consequently the success of such as opposed themselves against them, were, in other nations' apprehension, sometime in their own, merely fatal, altogether incorrigible by worldly policy, especially in more ancient times. Hence did the wise men of Chaldea, upon the first notice of the wind's turning for them, read Haman's destiny, but too late; *If Mordecai be of the seed of the Jews, before whom thou hast begun to fall, thou shalt not prevail against him, but shalt surely fall before him*[f]. Achior the Ammonite's speech to Holofernes, whether truly uttered by him, or feigned by the penman of that story, was framed (no doubt) according to the known experience of those times, and contains such advice, as a faithful counsellor, well acquainted with their estate, upon like occasion should have given unto his lord, not so well acquainted with it. This he was bound unto by the rules of poetry, which the author of that book (unless perhaps his memory failed him in the circumstance of time, an escape incident to fictions, for their affinity with lies) very well observes, if his work be rather to be censured for a poem than an history: his advice was this: *And whiles they sinned not before their God, they prospered, because the God that hated iniquity was with them. But when they departed from the way which he appointed them, they were destroyed in many battles after a wonderful sort, and were led captive into a land which was not theirs, and the temple of their God was cast to the ground, and their cities were taken by the enemies. But now they are turned to their God, and are come up from the scattering wherein they were scattered, and have possessed Hierusalem, where their temple is, and dwell in the*

Unto what time this history is to be referred, see Sulpit. Severus. [lib. 2.]

[f] Esther vi. 13.

mountains which were desolate. Now therefore, my lord and governor, if there be any fault in this people, so that they have sinned against their God, let us consider that this shall be their ruin, and let us go up, that we may overcome them. But if there be none iniquity in this people, let my lord pass by, lest their Lord defend them, and their God be for them, and we become a reproach before all the world[g]. The first root of all such effects or known experiments as in ancient time yielded matter to their neighbours of this or like observation, was God's first promise unto Abraham: *And I will make of thee a great nation, and will bless thee, and make thy name great, and thou shalt be a blessing: I will also bless them that bless thee, and curse them that curse thee: and in thee*
86 *shall all the families of the earth be blessed*[h]. Which promise, as it doth concern the temporal state of the Jews, was to be limited, according to the tenor of Achior's speech, and did then only take effect, when they followed Abraham's footsteps, and lived in faithful obedience to God's laws, or having transgressed them, did turn again with their whole heart to seek the God of their fathers. From experience of their good success in such cases, partly, I think, were their neighbour countries so savage and merciless towards them in their greatest distress, always crying, upon like occasion, as the Edomites did in the day of Hierusalem, *Down with it, down with it, even to the ground!* Because they could not hope for any revenge, but by waiting the turning of their fates, and taking them in the ebbing of their fortunes; for when they begun to rise, they knew there was no means to stay them. The Arabian's[i] immane and savage practices

The causes of the heathen's insulting over the Jews in their distress.

[g] Judith v. 17–21.
[h] Gen. xii. 2.
[i] Judæa terra quali nunquam ante motu concussa, magnam

upon their ambassadors, seeking compassion to their lamentable estate torn and ruinate by the mighty hand of their God, in a fearful and prodigious earthquake, do argue a deep-rooted memory of their ancestors' strange overthrows (mentioned in scripture) by this people's forefathers, and these later Arabians long lying in wait to do these Jews a mischief, if they had not been restrained by the mighty hand of God; who now, as they suppose, being turned their enemy, they apprehend this opportunity of working a full revenge. Nor are their hard hearts mollified with their public miseries, nor their inveterate malice so quenched with their ambassadors' blood, shed in the seventh year of Herod's reign, but it burst out again in Vespasian's time. For these Arabians, though never (as Am. Marcellinus, lib. 14. [c. 8.] notes) any true friends or well-willers to the Roman state, were the forwardest men to assist Titus in Hierusalem's last and fatal siege. For the same reasons were the nations round about them as earnestly bent to hinder the re-edifying of Hierusalem, after the return from captivity, as these were now to pull it down, as fearing lest this people's good fortunes should rise again with their city walls. But, as Nehemiah notes, *after the enemies had heard that the wall was finished, they were afraid, and their courage failed them, for they knew that this work was wrought by God.* Nehem. vi. 16.

per totam eam regionem jacturam fecit pecudum: quin et hominum oppressa sunt ruinis ædium circiter decem millia. Militaris tamen multitudo nihil detrimenti accepit, utpote sub dio agitans. Hæc clades etiam in majus aucta rumoribus, quos nuncii, gentilium odiorum non ignari, dabant auribus Arabum, immane quantum extulit hostium animos, quasi subversis Judæorum urbibus et extinctis hominibus, nulli jam superessent. Legatos itaque gentis, qui rebus afflictis pacem petituri venerant comprehensos necaverunt, moxque magna alacritate properaverunt ad hostilem exercitum. Joseph. Antiq. l. 15. c. 7. [aliis cap. 5. p. 752.]

5. These and like observations make me think it was not skill in astrology, or such arts as the magi used, (whereunto this of all people was least addicted,) which first hatched that opinion of the Jews' descent from the magi[k]: rather the later heathen, ignorant of their original, and not able to derive that strange success which did haunt them, or their demeanour answerable thereto, from ordinary or natural causes, referred all to magic spells, or some art of divination. So unwilling is flesh and blood to acknowledge such as they hate for the beloved of the Lord; and so powerful is the prince of darkness, either to blind the hearts of the worldly wise, or to avert their eyes from beholding an unpleasant truth, that if at any time the finger of God appear in the deliverance or good success of his people, the infidel or natural man ascribes such effects as magicians (unless upon presumption of travellers' privilege amongst the ignorant) durst not arrogate to themselves, unto magical or other like arts; because the corruption of their nature is more capable of such practices than of true belief in God, and they
87 more prone in distress to fly unto sorceries or magic charms, than with true faith and firm constancy to expect the deliverance of the Lord by such means as the faithful Israelites did[l]. So when the Christian legion had, by their prayers, relieved Antoninus's army, ready to swound for thirst, with plenty of water, in as miraculous sort as Elisha did sometime the host of Israel[m]; the heathens, acknowledging the effect for supernatural, ascribed it to Arnuphis, the Egyptian sorcerer, his acquaintance with Mercury, and other supposed gods of the air. In like sort the modern

[k] Refert Diog. Laertius in Proœmio, p. 6.

[l] Dion Xiphil. [in Antonino, p. 260.]

[m] 2 Kings iii.

Jew, acknowledging many wonders wrought by our Saviour, takes it for a sufficient argument, that all of them were wrought by magic skill, only because the Evangelist saith, he had been in Egypt[n]; so is he blinded with wilful malice, that he cannot see how, by this objection, he lays all the wonders which Moses wrought, open to the like exception of atheists, infidels, and heathen. For both Moses, in whom he trusts, and Abraham in whom he glories, and all the patriarchs, from whom the Jews descended, had been in Egypt in ripe age, where our Saviour came not, but in his infancy. As for his miracles, the testimony of Moses, and other prophets, whose Divine authority is acknowledged by the Jew, shall evince them wrought by the finger of God. In the meantime the estate of the Jews since their death, sufficiently known to all the world, and foretold by them, shall manifest against the atheist, that they all wrote by the Spirit of God.

CHAP. XXII.

That all the Heathens' Objections against, or doubts concerning the Jews' Estate, are prevented or resolved by Jewish Writers.

1. OUT of that which hath been hitherto premised, this conclusion stands firm, supported both by foreign writers' observation, and these Jews' own confession, that they were a people remarkable for their unusual prosperity and calamity. I am fully persuaded it would have given full satisfaction to any ingenuous Roman or later heathen, that this was a people beloved of God, had they known as much as we do: that all they could object in contempt of the Jews, or their religion, had been (conceived before by the Assyrian and Babylonian, but falsified in the event) fully

[n] See Munster on the second chapter of Matt. Hebr.

answered by Judaical writers, and plainly foretold by their prophets; lest such events as occasioned others to contemn them, might have proved temptations to the godly amongst this people, as if they had been forsaken of their God. The days had been, wherein the Babylonians had taken themselves for men, and their idols for gods, as good as Rome had any; and these Jews for as base a people as the world yielded; *They had gathered captivity as the sand, mocked the kings, and made a scorn of the princes, deriding every strong hold*[o]: and hence (as the Prophet foresaw) they were as ready as the Romans to take courage in transgressing and doing wickedly, imputing this their power unto their god. But the Prophet is not herewith dismayed, nor tempted to think his God's power was less than theirs; albeit, to shew himself a true patriot of Israel, he complains of their intolerable presumption, which in due time he well foresees should be abated. *Art not thou of old, my Lord, my God, mine Holy One? we shall not die: O Lord, thou hast ordained them for judgment; and O God, thou hast established them for correction. Thou art of pure eyes, and canst not behold wickedness: wherefore dost thou look upon the transgressors, and holdest thy tongue when the wicked devoureth the man that is more righteous than he? and makest men as the fishes of the sea, and as the creeping things, that have no ruler over them? They take up all with the angle, they catch it in their net, and gather it in their yarn, whereof they rejoice and are glad. Therefore they sacrifice unto their net, and burn incense unto their yarn, because by them their portion is fat, and their meat plenteous. Shall they therefore stretch out their net, and not spare continually to slay the*

[o] Hab. i. 9, 10.

nations? No; he knew their time was limited, and other nations, as Jeremiah saith, *when his time was come, were to serve themselves of him;* though God at that time had exposed the princes of Judah to his violence, for their violent oppression of their brethren, as Habakkuk expressly notes in the beginning of his forementioned prophecy. These Jews, before the event did prove the contrary, were as incredulous they should be brought into captivity by the Babylonian, or such foolish idolaters, as the Romans were of their great prosperity under David or Solomon. And for to beat down this proud humour in them, the prophet Ezekiel foretells, that for their extreme cruelty the Lord would punish them by the most wicked of the heathen: *Make a chain: for the land is full of the judgment of blood, and the city is full of cruelty. Wherefore I will bring the most wicked of the heathen, and they shall possess their houses: I will also make the pomp of the mighty to cease; and their holy places shall be defiled. When destruction cometh, they shall seek peace, and shall not have it. Calamity shall come upon calamity, and rumour shall be upon rumour; then shall they seek a vision of the prophet; but the law shall perish from the priest, and counsel from the ancient.* And lest any should marvel, why God would so use his chosen people, he gives the reason in the words immediately following, because he was a God of justice. *The king shall mourn, and the princes shall be clothed with desolation, and the hands of the people in the land shall be troubled: I will do unto them according to their ways, and according to their judgments will I judge them; and they shall know that I am the Lord*[p].

2. More particularly, both Tully's objection, con-

[p] Ezek. vii. 23.

cerning their overthrow and conquest, is directly answered; Strabo and Seneca's doubt, concerning their thriving in captivity, fully resolved; and Tacitus' false imputations of their increase, sufficiently cleared by the Psalmist: *They were stained with their own works, and went a whoring with their own inventions. Therefore was the wrath of the Lord kindled against his people, and he abhorred his own inheritance. And he gave them into the hand of the heathen; and they that hated them were lords over them. Their enemies also oppressed them, and they were humbled under their hand. Many a time did he deliver them; but they provoked him by their counsels, therefore they were brought down by their iniquities*[q]. Had Tully read thus much, he might have been fully satisfied that it was not love or hate of his immortal gods
89 which made the Romans conquerors, the Jews captives: but it was their love to sin, only hateful to their God, which brought them in subjection unto the Romans; and made Cæsar, whom Tully and other Romans hated, lord over them, as they had been over the Jews. And if Strabo, Seneca, Tacitus, or others, that either envied or marvelled at these Jews' prosperity, had read what follows in the same Psalm, they had rested better satisfied with the reason that the Psalmist there gives, than with such as blundering politicians guess at: *For although they had been brought down by their iniquity, yet their God, who had given them into their enemies' hand, saw when they were in affliction, and heard their cry: and he remembered his covenant towards them, and repented according to the multitude of his mercies, and gave them favour in the sight of all them that led them away captives*[r]. The Psalmist had better understanding of God's deal-

[q] Psalm cvi. 39. [r] Psalm cvi. 43–46.

ing with these people than Tully and Strabo had; and in confidence of God's mercies, which they had often tasted, he concludes with this prayer: *Save us, O Lord our God, and gather us from among the heathen, that we may praise thy holy name, and glory in thy praises*[s]. Though this godly Psalmist saw this people in greater distress than they were in Tully's time, yet he attributes not their captivity and oppression unto any want of good-will in their God towards them, but unto their ingratitude towards him: for if they had been thankful unto him, the blows that light on them should have been spent upon their enemies. But as another Psalmist complains in the person of his God, Psalm lxxxi. 11. *My people would not hear my voice; and Israel would have none of me. So I gave them over unto the hardness of their hearts: and they have walked in their own counsels. O that my people would have hearkened unto me, and Israel had walked in my ways! I would soon have humbled their enemies, and turned my hand against their adversaries. The haters of the Lord should have been subject to them, and their time should have endured for ever. I would have fed them* (saith the Lord) *with the finest wheat: and with the honey out of the rock would I have satisfied thee.*

God's especial favours towards the Jews, no way impeach his unpartial judgments.

3. This one place, to omit many other, abundantly proves the former assertion, that if this people had continued in well doing, all the nations should continually have wondered at their extraordinary prosperity? But here a Christian may as well doubt, as the heathen wonder, why Israel after so many transgressions, as the author of the hundred and sixth Psalm complains of, was not destroyed at once, as other great and mighty nations had been. For the more abundant

[s] Psal. cvi. 47.

favours their forefathers had found, and the greater God's blessings (laid up for their posterity) were, the greater was their ingratitude in rebelling, their rebellion itself so much more wilfully heinous; and always the more wilful or heinous any sin is, the more grievous, certain, and more speedy punishment it deserves. How could that most Just and Holy One, which so often protesteth *he respecteth no men's persons*, spare this most ungrateful, stubborn, and rebellious people, longer than any other?

4. The full and necessary consequence of these collections is thus much and no more: the final extirpation of these Jews had been accomplished many generations before it came to pass, had the Lord been only just, or respected only their deserts whom he so often preserved, when justly he might have destroyed them. But if we look further into the ways of God's providence, the true end and reason of destroying
90 others, and preserving them, will appear one and the same. For that sudden execution of his justice upon others, which did so much advance his glory, equally practised upon them, had as greatly impeached it amongst the nations. This cause of their long preservation the Lord himself assigns, Deut. xxxii. 26. *I have said, I would scatter them abroad, I would make their remembrance to cease from amongst men: save that I feared the fury of the enemy, lest their adversaries should wax proud, and lest they should say, Our high hand, and not the Lord, hath done all this.* Again, as the Lord was most just, so was he most kind and merciful towards all, (none excepted,) even towards the Gentiles, in these Jews; for by their strange deliverance and restoration the other might have learned, that their God was a God of gods, and Lord of lords, most worthy to be honoured of all the world, as he

himself addeth in the forecited place[t]: *For the Lord shall judge his people, and repent towards his servants, when he seeth that their power is gone, and none shut up in hold, nor left abroad. When men shall say, Where are their gods, their mighty God in whom they trusted, which did eat the fat of their sacrifices, and did drink the wine of their drink offering? let them rise up and help you; let him be your refuge. Behold now, for I, I am he, and there is no god with me.* Thus, since these Jews began first to be a nation, as well the wane as the increase of their estate, or (to use our apostle's words) as well their diminution as abundance, might have yielded the docile and well-disposed greater riches, than the spoils of their cities and country did the proud and mighty amongst the Gentiles. And albeit they ofttimes sinned more grievously than others did, yet were there always left some godly amongst this people, which in their distress knew themselves, and could teach others the right way to repentance; of which the heathen, one and other, were altogether ignorant. And this was an especial cause, though subordinate to the former, of their long preservation. For when they were not so extreme bad as to continue in former sins, but unfeignedly called upon the Lord in their distress, he heard their prayers; and being once received to his, they found favour at their enemies' hands. So Solomon had observed, *When the ways of a man please the Lord, he will make also his enemies to be at peace with him*[u]. The truth whereof we have seen continually experienced in these Jews, before our Saviour's time, though much degenerate from their ancestors. But their posterity, as much degenerate from them as they from the other, go as far beyond the middle sort in punishment, as they came

[t] Deut. xxxii. 36—39. [u] Prov. xvi. 7.

short of their first forefathers in all graces and favours bestowed upon them by their God. Though these (such, I mean, as lived since our Saviour's time) cry unto the Lord, yet doth he not hear them, although their distresses have been more and more grievous many hundred years together, than their forefathers'? What is the reason? *Because they have turned their ears continually from hearing the law, therefore their prayers are continually turned into sin.* Prov. xxviii. 9. Psal. cix. 7.

5. Thus though the alteration of the Jewish state be such as all the world might wonder and stand amazed at; such as would make the wisest heathen giddy, that should seek to compass the true causes thereof by politic search; yet unto us Christians, that have the oracles of our God, their estate cannot seem
91 strange; seeing nothing, good or bad, that hath befallen this people, from their first beginning to this present day, but is foretold in the sacred story, which hath continually proved itself as infallible a prognostication for what is to come, as it is an authentic register of all things past.

6. The particular calendars, wherein their good or dismal days are distinguished, according to the diversity of their ways, we may find Levit. xxvi. After Moses had proposed extraordinary blessings, if they would walk in the laws which he had given them, he threatened them with plagues and calamities in their own land; with bodily sickness, incursion of enemies, oppressions and spoil of goods, strange overthrows in battle, and fearfulness of heart, ver. 16. And if these would not reclaim them, then he threateneth to punish them *seven times more according to their sins:* as with barrenness of soil, prodigious famine, and scarcity of fruit, ver. 18. And yet, if they hold on still to walk

stubbornly against him, he threateneth to *multiply the former plagues seven times;* by sending *wild beasts among them, which should spoil them, and destroy their cattle, and make them few in number, and your highways shall be desolate,* ver. 21. The like multiplying of his plagues for the increase of their stubbornness he reiterates twice again: *Yet, if by those you will not be reformed,* &c. He increaseth all the former plagues *seven times again,* ver. 23 and 28. The first and second degrees of the plagues threatened were in part fulfilled in the days of Gideon, Samson, Samuel, and Saul. The third likewise (by wild beasts) we see fulfilled in the days of Jehoram king of Israel, 2 Kings xvii. 25, 26. The fourth and fifth likewise we see in part fulfilled in their captivity, in the days of Manasseh, Jehoiachim, and Zedekiah; and in the time of Ptolemy the First, under Antiochus Epiphanes. Both their own and other stories give us full experiments of this prophecy. As their stubbornness did increase, so God's plagues here threatened did wax more grievous: these later calamities being, at the least, seven times greater (both for extent and durance) than the former persecutions, which they suffered by the Philistines, Moabites, Aramites, and Ammonites. But the last plague, which containeth all the rest more than seven times, was not accomplished till after our Saviour's death: after which time, all the rest (in part fulfilled before) are more than seven times multiplied upon them. In their former overthrows or captivities they suffered the violence of war, and oftentimes felt the extremity of hostile laws: but after these storms were past, so they would submit themselves unto their conquerors, they usually found (as was shewed before) more than ordinary favour at their hands. But since our Saviour's death, the memory of their former plagues

hath been but an invitation of the like, or worse; their continual bad usage prescribing the lawfulness of their abuse. In the xxviiith of Deuteronomy, the extraordinary blessings and plagues which were to overtake this people, either in their life or death, are more exactly calculated. And albeit their blessings might have been more and more admirable, than the curses that have befallen them: yet Moses, it seems, foreseeing, or fearing what would be, rather than hoping the best that might be, is almost four times as long in calculating their plagues as their blessings. So have the miseries of these later Jews been four times as long as the prosperity of their worthy ancestors; if we would take an exact measure of the one, from the sa-
92 cred histories before the Babylonish captivity; of the later, from experience and relation of Jewish or heathen writers. And yet no plague, either known by experience or related by any writers, but is evidently foretold by Moses. His particular predictions shall be inserted, as the events shall give the occasion, throughout this discourse. To begin with that most horrible plague, Deut. xxviii. 53, &c. *And thou shalt eat the fruit of thy body, even the flesh of thy sons and thy daughters, which the Lord thy God hath given thee, during the siege and straitness, wherein thy enemy shall inclose thee: so that the man that is tender and exceeding dainty among you, shall be grieved at his brother, and at his wife that lieth in his bosom, and at the remnant of his children which he hath yet left: for fear of giving unto any of them of the flesh of his children whom he shall eat: because he hath nothing left him in that siege and straitness, wherein the enemy shall besiege thee in all thy cities. The tender and dainty woman among you, which never could venture to set the sole of her foot on the ground, for softness*

and tenderness, shall be grieved at her husband that lieth in her bosom, and at her son, and at her daughter, and at her afterbirth that shall come out from between her feet, and at her children which she shall bear: for when all things lack, she shall eat them secretly, during the siege and straitness wherein thine enemy shall besiege thee in thy cities. This prophecy[x] we see fulfilled to an hair's breadth in Vespasian's time.

CHAP. XXIII.

The fulfilling of Moses' and others' Prophecies, touching the Desolation of Jewry and Destruction of Jerusalem: and the Signs of the Time, witnessing God's wonderful Hand therein.

1. SEEING that part of Tacitus is lost, whence we might have known more concerning their calamity than we can find now in heathen writers, we must take the conclusions answerable to Moses' predictions from Josephus, a Jew by birth, no way partial for Christians. And his conclusions (to omit Moses's authority or other inducements) cannot seem improbable from such premises as the Roman writers have confirmed, though little intending such inferences as we now make from them. Do those calamities of the Jews, related by Josephus and Eusebius, seem strange? They justly may, if we consider this people as natural or ordinary men, not as patterns of God's extraordinary judgments. Strange might their judgments seem, and incredible to the Romans or worldly-wise, unless other circumstances of that time, witnessed by the Romans them-

[x] It was verified in that woman of Samaria, who in the siege and famine boiled her son, 2 Kings vi. 29;—fulfilled in that noble woman which in the last siege did seethe hers, in that manner, as Josephus tells, book 7. chap. 8. [aliis lib. 6. cap. 3. p. 381.] of the Jewish Wars.

selves, were as rare. But if, by the Romans' opinion, every unusual effect in nature did portend some such strange event in human affairs; why should not the wisest of them in that age expect some extraordinary or miraculous matters of Vespasian's time? yet (excepting what he did to those stubborn Jews) his other acts were but ordinary, and required no pompous or magnificent prologues: whereas many signs, either foreshewing his exaltation to the empire, or confirming his right unto it, or authority in managing it, were such as no heathen, I think, hath ever heard of before, but most consonant unto God's wonted signs in Israel,
93 whilst their kings did prosper. Seeing the wisdom of the wise, and understanding of the prudent amongst this people, had been long hid, as the Lord had threatened by his prophet Esay, chap. xxix. and they themselves had complained, *We see not our tokens, we have not one prophet more;* whence was it that Josephus the Jew should become a prophet for Vespasian's good, who had already brought much, likely to bring more harm upon his country and him, now captived and imprisoned by him? So Suetonius and Tacitus [y]

[y] Et unus ex nobilibus captivis Josephus, cum conjiceretur in vincula, constantissime asseveravit fore, ut ab eodem brevi solveretur, verum jam imperatore. Sueton. in Vesp. [cap. 5.] It is not probable that either Suetonius, Tacitus, or Dion should take this testimony from Josephus, (though he relate it, book 3. chap. 14. [aliis c. 8. p. 249.] of the Jewish Wars,) but from the Romans that were earwitnesses of it. It is less probable again that Josephus should learn this from any prophecies concerning Christ, for he knew Vespasian was no Jew: rather God made him as a mouth to those other dumb signs which Roman writers relate, by his appointment foreshewing Vespasian's exaltation; as Dion notes: for speaking of other signs he saith: Sed hæc quidem omnia egebant interpretatione. At Josephus, natione Judæus, ante ab eo captus constrictusque vinculis ridens ait; nunc quidem me vincies, post annum autem solves, quum fueris imperator factus. Igitur Vespasianus ut alii quidam, ad principatum natus erat. Dion. Hist. Rom. lib. 66. [cap. 1.]

(no factious friends for Jews or Christians) tell us, Josephus did solace himself at his commitment, with this; that Vespasian the emperor should shortly release him. Though Vespasian at that time was far enough from such hopes, in the judgment of the Roman state, which had appointed him general in the Jewish wars[z], because his mean birth and obscure family did minister least suspicion of affecting the splendour and dignity of the Roman empire, if he should prove conqueror. Did the rest of his unruly countrymen conceit any such matter of Vespasian, as Josephus did? then had they not continued stubborn as they did. But although Israel knew him not, and his people had no understanding[a], yet the dumb ox knew him to be his owner, and appointed lord of the earth, and in sign of his submission to him, having cast off his yoke, ran furiously into the room where he sat at supper; where affrighting his attendants from him, he straight prostrates himself before his feet, (as if he had been weary,) offering his neck to his clemency. Oracles had ceased in Jewry, (at least from speaking any good unto the Jews,) yet the oracles of Carmel assure Vespasian of good success in all that he should set his hand unto.

2. As these and many other presignifications were more than natural, so the means of his advancement (if we respect only the purpose of men) were merely

[z] Suetonius in Vespasiano. [cap. 1.]

[a] Prandente eo quondam, canis extrarius triclinio manum humanam intulit. Cœnante rursus, bos arator decusso jugo, triclinium irrupit, ac fugatis ministris, quasi defessus, procidit ad ipsos accumbens pedes cervicemque submisit. Apud Judæam Carmeli Dei oraculum consulentem, ita confirmavere sortes, ut quicquid cogitaret animo volveretque quantumlibet magnum, id esse proventurum pollicerentur. Suet. in Vesp. [cap. 5.] Dion Cassius reports that of the ox and dog, and other particulars besides. Lib. 66. initio.

casual: nor is it possible for the atheist to imagine their concurrence contrived by policy.

3. But herein we may clearly see God's covenant of exalting this people, and humbling their foes, quite inverted. All the plagues threatened to such as bare ill-will to Sion, light on her friends and inhabitants; all the blessings promised to such as prayed for Jerusalem's peace, are heaped upon them that work her ruin. More particularly do they verify that prophecy of Moses, Deut. xxviii. 43, *The stranger that is amongst you shall climb up on high; and thou shalt come down beneath alow.* For these children of the kingdom, taking violent but false hold upon God's truest promises, do, by their unseasonable desire of exalting themselves above the nations, hoist him up to highest dignity, that was ordained to pluck them down from their seat, and bring them below all other people. The manner of it was thus:

94 4. [b]There was a constant opinion through the East, that Jewry about this time should bring forth the Monarch of the world. In confidence of which prophecy the Jews (as the Roman writers observe) did rebel. Vespasian, (otherwise likely to have lived in danger, and died in obscurity and disgrace, whereunto Nero had designed him,) appointed, for reasons afore alleged, to manage these wars, gets renown for his good service among the Romans; good-will of the eastern

[b] Percrebuerat oriente toto vetus et constans opinio: esse in fatis, ut eo tempore Judæa profecti rerum potirentur. Id de imperatore Romano, (quantum eventu postea patuit,) prædictum, Judæi ad se trahentes, rebellarunt: cæsoque præposito, legatum insuper Syriæ consularem suppetias ferentem rapta aquila fugaverunt. Ad hunc motum comprimendum, cum exercitu auxiliari, et non instrenuo duce, cui tamen tuto tanta res committeretur, opus esset, ipse potissimum delectus est, ut industriæ expertæ, nec metuendus ullo modo ob humilitatem generis ac nominis. Sueton. in Vesp. [cap. 4.]

nations, and upon Nero's death, and civil broils thence ensuing, partly by promise of assistance from the Parthian, partly by other unexpected occurrents, had the empire thrust upon him, otherwise [c]backward of himself to entertain hopes suggested to him from Heaven by many wonderful signs and tokens.

Yet after all this, being made emperor on a sudden, before he could bethink himself what belonged to so high a place, he wanted (as the historian notes[d]) authority and majesty to countenance his proceedings: and these again are confirmed unto him, at his first entrance into the empire, by means more miraculous than the former. Since Rome began was it not heard, that any Roman had opened the eyes of the blind; *unless this man had been from God, he could have done nothing. Why then do the heathen rage, and the people murmur a vain thing, against God, and his anointed, the Christ,* as if he had not healed him which was born blind, with spittle? when as Vespasian, late elected emperor, did cure one desperately blind, by spitting upon his eyes; or whence came that virtue into this new emperor's feet, that he should heal a lame and withered thigh by treading upon it? Both these effects were well known unto the most judicious Roman writers of those times, so constantly avouched by them, as can leave no place for suspicion in ages following[e].

[c] Nec tamen quidquam ante tentavit, promptissimis atque etiam instantibus suis, quam solicitatus quorundam et ignotorum et absentium fortuito favore. Suet. ibid. [cap. 6.]

[d] Sueton. [ibid. c. 7.] Autoritas et quasi majestas quædam, ut scilicet inopinato et adhuc novo principi deerat: hæc quoque accessit.

[e] Æstimari a medicis jubet Vespasianus an talis cæcitas ac debilitas ope humana superabiles forent. Medici varie disserere. Huic non exesam vim lumínis et redituram si pellerentur obstantia: illi elapsos in pravum artus, si salubris vis adhibeatur, posse integrari. Id fortasse cordi Deis, et divino ministerio principem electum: denique patrati remedii gloriam penes Cæsarem; ir-

5. What shall we Christians say to these things? Only this; in both these cures there was the finger of God pointing out Vespasian to the world, as[f] Christ's right hand appointed for some extraordinary and peculiar service, even to inflict the plagues foretold by him upon these Jews, which had reviled, traduced, and crucified the Lord of glory for the like, and infinite other
95 far greater miracles wrought amongst them. These strange calamities, had they fallen in Nero's, or other like emperor's time, might have been attributed to their cruel disposition: but that Vespasian[g], for his natural inclination another Moses, scarce provocable to revenge practice of treason against his person in private men, should work that strange desolation upon a whole land, hath this signification, that he was God's instrument only in this business; what he did, he did impelled by him, not of his own motion or in-

riti ludibrium penes miseros fore. Igitur Vespasianus cuncta fortunæ suæ parere ratus, nec quidquam ultra incredibile, læto ipse vultu, erecta quæ astabat multitudine, jussa exequitur. Statim conversa ad usum manus, ac cæco reluxit dies. Utrumque qui interfuere nunc quoque memorant, postquam nullum mendacio pretium. Tacitus histor. lib. 4. [cap. 81.] Suetonius [lib. cit. cap. 7.] hath the same story with the same circumstances.

[f] Seeing they had rejected the true son and heir of David, the Lord raised up Vespasian, (as it were an adopted son and lively pattern of old David both in meanness of birth, manner of exaltation and humility,) to rule them with an iron rod, and feed them with the sword. Suetonius' character of his patience and disposition, hath a perfect relish of David's spirit. Mediocritatem pristinam neque dissimulavit unquam, ac frequenter etiam præ se tulit. Quin et conantes quosdam originem Flavii generis ad conditores reatinos comitemque Herculis cujus monumentum exstat via Salaria referre, irrisit ultro. Adeoque nihil ornamentorum extrinsecus cupide appetivit, ut triumphi die fatigatus tarditate et tædio pompæ non reticuerit: merito se plecti, qui triumphum quasi aut debitum majoribus suis, aut speratum unquam sibi, tam inepte senex concupisset. Sueton. in Vespasian. [cap. 12.]

[g] Neque cæde cujusquam unquam lætatus, justis suppliciis illacrymavit etiam et ingemuit. Idem. Ibid. [cap. 15.]

clination. And because he had[h] diligently executed that which was right in God's eyes, and had done unto these Jews, according to all things that were in God's heart, he had (by what revelation God best knoweth) Jehu's blessing sealed unto him, *that his son should sit upon his throne:* so confident was he in this persuasion, as after the discovery of many, to scorn all conspiracies, though daily intended against him; avouching still, either his sons, or none, must succeed him in the empire, as both of them did. Though the latter, (much degenerate from so worthy a father, most dislike unto his noble brother,) was most unworthy, and uncapable of so high a place, but only from his father's deserts, which God had ordained, should be rewarded with this honour. Had either of his sons rendered according to the reward bestowed upon them, more sceptres had sprung from the Flavian stock: but as it grew apace, so did it quickly fade; Titus, the fairest branch to all men's seeming, being plucked off, to his great heart's grief, in the blossom, for what secret sin, God knoweth best, this one was grievous enough, to have deserved a more grievous death, that apprehending his fate's approach, he durst so confidently look Heaven in the face, and expostulate his untimely death as unjust, seeing he never had offended the sacred powers thereof but only once. The signs of those times were extraordinary, could the Romans have rightly observed them: but these great conquerors were taken with their captives' error in not

[h] Convenit inter omnes tam certum eum de sua suorumque genitura semper fuisse: ut post assiduas in se conjurationes ausus sit affirmare senatui, Aut filios sibi successuros aut neminem. Dicitur etiam vidisse quondam per quietem, stateram in media parte vestibuli Palatinæ domus positam examine æquo: cum in altera parte Claudius et Nero starent, in altera ipse ac filii. Nec res fefellit: quando totidem annis, parique temporis spatio utrique imperaverunt. Sueton. in Vespas. [cap. 25.]

discerning, or misapplying them. As the spring sun, which naturally reviveth all other living creatures, oftentimes prepareth such human bodies as are fullest of life and blood, but most neglective of the opportunity of taking physic, or using diet convenient for that season, to hot and desperate diseases, never perceived in their summer's growth, until they be ripe of death in the autumn: so albeit the Sun of Righteousness, whose coming into the world was to give life unto it, did first arise in Jewry; yet by her children's confidence in their wonted temper, so whole and sound unto their seeming, that of all other people they only needed no physician, the very beams of saving health did secretly dispose their evil disposed hearts to violent death, which burst out in the latter end or autumn of that age, wherein he appeared. For that generation with whom our Saviour Christ Jesus conversed on earth, was not fully past, until this people began to swell with insolent and proud hopes of sovereignty over others, and by their untimely provocation of the Romans, bring sudden destruction upon themselves; as stout and full bodies, by violent and unseasonable exercises, are soonest brought down from the height of their strength unto the grave. The Romans again, seeing these Jews defeated, and themselves possessed of their hopes, (Vespasian being called to the empire during these wars, which Titus his son did gloriously finish, to the
96 utter ruin of that nation,) think sure their gods had been more potent than the God of the Jews, and apply the prophecy, meant of Christ, unto Vespasian[i], as if he had been that monarch of the world, which, according to the common received opinion throughout the East, was at this time to arise in Jewry. So doth the

[i] Suetonius in Vespas. et Tacitus, Hist. l. 5. Vid. annot. ex Tacito infra paragr. 8. et ex Suetон. supra 4.

God of this world still blind the eyes of the worldly-wise with fair shows or earthly shadows of heavenly things, that they cannot or care not to look into the body or substance of Divine mysteries, for whose representation only those are given; otherwise uncapable of any cause either in nature, reason, or policy. Vespasian the emperor (indeed) was the second type or shadow of the Messiah, that great monarch and prince of peace, whose endless kingdom shall put down all wars for ever. For seeing by the fall of these Jews, as Saint Paul saith, *salvation is come unto the Gentiles;* it pleased the wisdom of our God, to have their destruction solemnized with the selfsame signs that his birth had been, which brought forth life unto the world.

For immediately after their fatal overthrow by Titus, Janus had his temple shut, and Peace a temple erected by Vespasian. Thus Divine suggestions effect no more in most men's thoughts, than diurnal intention of mind doth in hard students' broken sleeps; which usually set the soul a working, seldom finding any distinct representation of what she seeks, though contenting herself ofttimes for that season with some pleasant phantasm, as much different from the true nature of that she hunts after, as the clouds which Ixion embraced were from Juno. Vespasian's secret instinct in this devotion did aim no doubt (as it was directed by all signs of the time) at the true Prince of Peace, but was choked and stifled in the issue or passage, and his intent blinded in the apprehension, by the palpable and gross conceits of Romish idolatry, wherein he had been nuzzled; as men's inbred desire of true happiness is usually taken up and blindfolded by such pleasant sensible objects, as they most accustom themselves unto. And yet, God knows, whether this virtuous emperor's last hopes were inwardly rooted in

pride and presumption of heart; or rightly conceived there, were only brought forth amiss. As if a man should first apprehend the state of blessedness or regeneration in a dream, the representation of it would be gross, though the apprehension sound. Quite contrary to his son's disposition, when he himself apprehends death coming upon him, (which the physicians and astronomers could not persuade him to beware of,) he solaced himself with this saying, "Now shall I be a god[k]:" his inward hopes of a celestial state after this life might (for ought that any man knows) be true and sound, and the representation only tainted with the Romans' gross conceit.

6. But whatever became of him in that other world, his entrance into this, his continuance herein, and departure hence, were in all the world's sight of unusual and extraordinary observation. The disposition of the times, by the most irreligious amongst the Romans, were referred to Fates or Divine Powers, who had not graced the birth, life, and death, or long flourishing reign of Augustus, with half so many tokens of their presence upon earth, or providence over human affairs. What effect or issue can the Roman assign answerable unto them? Rome could not invite the nations to come and see, whether any prosperity were like hers, for hers had been far greater and of longer conti-
97 nuance, than now under Vespasian; who was suddenly called away by a comet from heaven[l], and Augustus his sepulchre opening of its own accord to welcome him to his grave. Whereat then did all these signs point? They should have been as a new star to lead the wise men of the west unto Hierusalem, now crying out of the dust unto the careless Roman, *Have ye no regard,*

[k] Dion, Xiph. [Vespasian. in fine.]

[l] Dion. ex Xiphil. lib. 66. [Ibid.]

all ye that pass by? behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, which is done unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce wrath[m]? It was not Titus and Vespasian that had afflicted her, they were but his deputies that was Lord of Sion, who had decreed what they effected. For this cause did neither the father nor the son take the name of Judaicus[n]; albeit the difficulty of the war, begun by the father, and the famousness of the victory achieved by the son, (according to the custom of the Romans observed by them in their triumphs and other solemnities,) did solicit them hereunto. For what victory gotten by any Roman was like unto this, either for the multitude of the slain, or the captives? Nothing in this kind could seem strange unto the politician, if it had proceeded from Tacitus' pen. But Satan, it seems, by God's permission, hath called in that part of Tacitus, as a book too dangerous for his scholars to read; lest, giving credence unto it, they might believe him less, and Christians more, in any other points; and yet, praised be the name of our gracious God, who envies no man the truth, and hath left us abundant records of this story, all answerable to his sacred word and prophecies of old concerning Hierusalem. From that part of Tacitus which is left, we may gather how consonant his conclusions would have been unto that faithful and most ingenious historian Josephus, with whom he jumps in these particulars; that this people were of "bodies healthful and able[o], their city exceeding strong[p]," every way

[m] Lamen. i. 12.

[n] His de causis uterque imperatoris nomen obtinuit, neuter tamen Judaicus cognominatus est, licet alia multa, ut par erat tam magna parta victoria, atque imprimis arcus triumphales eis decreti sunt. Dion. lib. 66. [cap. 7.]

[o] So are they not now.

[p] Fons perennis aquæ, cavati sub terra montes, et piscinæ servandis imbribus: prævideranr conditores ex diversitate morum,

well provided against long siege. Which assertion would have ministered suspicion to such as measure all stories by rules of policy, unless some Roman writer had avouched it, seeing Pompey had razed the city walls, and Sosius had taken it by force in Augustus' time; since continuing in subjection unto the Romans until the last and fatal rebellion. But Tacitus tells us, that these Jews made their benefit of Claudius his covetousness, and purchased license to fortify the city in time of peace against war: during which it grew more populous than before, by the relics of other ruinated cities resorting unto it. And albeit he differ from Josephus in the number of the besieged; yet he acknowledgeth six hundred thousand of all sorts, the women as resolute as the men; armour and munition enough for as many as could; and yet more in this people that durst use and manage them, than could be expected in such a number. Their seditious and factious, their stubborn and desperate minds against God and man, and their own souls, neglective of fearful signs from heaven, and other prodigious tokens foretelling their desolation, are pathetically described by the same writer. The preparations likewise on Titus his part we may gather from him, to be as great as any Roman ever used. His army, at the first approach to the city, thought scorn to expect the help of famine to make the besieged yield; and yet after one or two

crebra bella; inde cuncta, quamvis adversus longum obsidium: et a Pompeio expugnatis, metus atque usus pleraque monstravere. Atque per avaritiam Claudianorum temporum, empto jure muniendi, struxere muros in pace tanquam ad bellum: magna colluvie, et cæterarum urbium clade aucti. Tacit. Hist. lib. 5. [cap. 12.] The writers of sacred story complain of defect of water in Hierusalem since that time. V. Strab. l. 16. [p. 761.] Est locus saxosus aquis ipse quidem abundans. This barrenness was only about Hierusalem; for Tacitus acknowledgeth the fertility of Judæa.

assaults made to little purpose, enforced to desist, until all the engines of battery, either of ancient or modern invention, were ready. And all these circumstances we have fully set down in this fragment of Tacitus which is left.

7. Were that register of Hierusalem's "tragical 98
funerals" (to use his words) now extant as entire as he intended it, what other conclusion from the former premises could we expect, than such woe and miseries as Moses and Jeremy had foretold, and others have related to us? Josephus (as if Jeremiah's spirit had directed his pen) saith, their misery did far surpass all plagues inflicted upon any nation, either by God or man. "The multitude of Jews dead in the wars, was equal to the number of living men in Israel under king David," when Jacob's posterity flourished most, besides fifty thousand taken captives. The number (albeit he maketh it eleven hundred thousand) cannot seem strange, if we consider the confluence of this people from all nations almost under heaven unto Hierusalem at their passover[q]. Dion telleth us, that besides the natural inhabitants of Jewry, strangers, not only of Jewish progeny, but such as observed their rites and customs, did flock to the city's defence, both from those parts of the Roman empire, through which they were scattered, and from the countries beyond Euphrates not subject to the Romans: consonant herein to Josephus[r], where he telleth us that the greatest part of the slain were strangers, but most of Jewish pro-

[q] Josephus says, that the high priest (requested by Cestius, in Nero's time) numbered the people in Jerusalem at Easter; and (reckoning but ten to a lamb) found 2,700,000 persons purified and sound. Well then might the number of captives be 97,000 and destroyed in the siege 1,100,000, as he says.

[r] Book 7. ch. 17. [aliis lib. 6. cap. 9. p. 398.] of the Jewish Wars.

geny. "The whole nation" (to use his words) "was shut up by fates, as in a prison;" or to speak more significantly, foiled by the Romans in the field, they were driven into the city as into a slaughter house. And here the Psalmist's curse beginneth to seize upon the nation, *that which should have been for their good, proves the occasion of their fall:* the effect of God's blessing upon Abraham proves a plague to his seed: the huge number, wherewith God had multiplied them, which had late made them swell with hopes of victory in the open field, brings grievous famine suddenly upon them once enclosed in the city: and famine no sooner got within the walls, but lets in her fellow messengers of God's wrath; first breeding the pestilence by the carcasses of the famished, then disposing the bodies of the living to receive this and such other loathsome infectious diseases, as hunger and the huge multitude of the besieged in such a strait place would quickly breed; and yet they so desperately set to increase these miseries, as even in their greatest penury to receive fugitives from Titus' camp. For, as Dion storieth, divers of his soldiers fled to the besieged, being partly wearied of the difficult siege, partly animated thereto, by a rumour bruited throughout the Roman army, that this city could not be taken.

8. Thus, all occasions conspire to work them woe whom God will plague. The general persuasion of the East, that Jewry, about this time, should bring forth the Monarch of the world, ministers matter for their false prophets to work upon: and from their trust in their prophets it was, that neither the present adversity which they felt, nor prodigious signs from heaven, could dissuade or terrify the seditious from their enterprise unhappily undertaken. God (no doubt) had so disposed, that the Roman soldiers should de-

spair of victory, to give countenance to these false prophets, and make these castaways, who still delighted most in lies, more confident in the ways of death. Though the signs, recorded by Tacitus[s], (and Josephus in his 7th book, 12. chap. [aliis lib. 6. cap. 5. p. 388.] of the Jewish Wars,) might seem fearful, yet their interpretation was ambiguous: they might as well menace their enemies' harm, as their destruction; howsoever, to regard them much might argue heathenish superstition; and indiscreet avoidance of superstition makes hypocritical professors of true religion preposterously stubborn in imitation of true confidence. They could pretend the prophet's admonition: *Learn not the way of the heathen, and be not afraid of the signs of heaven; though the heathen be afraid of such. For the customs of the people are vain*, Jer. x. 2: and hence assume his resolution to themselves, *Paveant illi, ne autem paveas tu;* Let the idolatrous heathen tremble and quake, but why should Israel be afraid of these apparitions of their God? Or if a man would have measured all by politic observations, it was more likely the Romans should have forsaken the siege, than the besieged have fallen into their hands. *But God was against them, and they could not be for themselves.* For, as Dion notes[t], (which I think 99

[s] Tacitus, concurring with Josephus in relation of those horrible signs, addeth: Pauci in metum trahebant: pluribus persuasio inerat, antiquis sacerdotum literis contineri, eo ipso tempore fore, ut valesceret oriens, profectique Judæa rerum potirentur, quæ ambages Vespasianum ac Titum prædixerant. Sed vulgus more humanæ cupidinis, sibi tantam fatorum magnitudinem interpretati, ne adversis quidem ad vera mutabantur. Tacit. Hist. lib. 5. [cap. 13.] Unto all the former mischiefs these did accrue: Prælia, dolus, incendia inter ipsos, et magna vis frumenti ambusta. Tacit. Hist. lib. 5. [cap. 12.]

[t] Cumque vicina quædam ædificia succendissent, velut hac quoque via Romanos, etiamsi maxime circulo illo potirentur, ab ulteriori progressu rejecturi: simul et ipsum destruxere mu-

Josephus omitteth,) they themselves, by making way for their more commodious defence, did (against their will) demolish the chief muniment of the temple; at which breach the Romans entered, but not without some stay, amated only with reverence of the place. Nor did the success answer their resolution in the assault, (albeit they were far more in number than the defendants,) until Titus commanded part of the temple to be set on fire: but then, as the same author witnesseth, some offered their bodies for sheaths unto the Romans' swords; some killed their fellows, requited instantly with like kindness from them again; some leaped into the fire; "All accounted it their happiness to perish with the temple." Dion. l. 66. [cap. eod.]

9. The Lord had often professed his dislike unto their solemn feasts, and his loathing of their sacrifices; both fully manifested in this their last calamity. Such as the stench of their dead was now to their polluted senses, such had the abomination of their sweetest incense long been to his holiness, now to be purged with the priests' own blood sacrificed in the flames and ruins of the temple: the city, as oft before, was now taken upon the sabbath day. Other particular miseries, described by Josephus and Eusebius, I leave for this time to the reader's private meditations: desirous only in these generalities, to justify theirs or other ecclesiastical writers' reports, against all suspicions cast upon them by atheists or infidels, from the testimony of such as infidelity itself cannot suspect for partial. Both sorts afford us evident documents of the Divine truth of scripture; and might afford us more than we are aware off, were we better acquainted with

rum, et inviti munitionem, qua templum includebatur, exusserunt. Ita Romanis aditus ad templum patefactus fuit. Dion. lib. 66. [cap. 6.]

the ancient manner of interpreting scriptures amongst the Jews, in our Saviour's and his apostles' time: of which hereafter. If now upon occasions of these relations concerning Jerusalem's last day, and the signs of the times ensuing, I interpret one or two places otherwise, than such as are most followed in our times do, the Christian reader, I hope, will grant me pardon, upon promise of such satisfaction as shall befit one ingenuous Christian to expect of another to be made; when I shall come to explicate the divers kinds of prophecies amongst God's people, with the right manner of their interpretations.

CHAP. XXIV. 100

The fulfilling of our Saviour's Prophecy, Matt. xxiv. *with others, concerning the Times ensuing Jerusalem's Destruction.*

1. READING Josephus, I cannot but acknowledge Jeremiah's Lamentation, as well for a prophecy of these late times under Vespasian and Titus, as an history or elegy of the miseries that had befallen Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. *The Lord,* I know, *had then done that which he purposed:* but now more properly hath *fulfilled his word that he had determined of old time: he hath thrown down, and not spared: he hath caused thine enemies to rejoice over thee, and set up the horn of thine adversaries.—Arise, cry in the night: in the beginning of the watches pour out thine heart like water before the face of the Lord: lift up thine hand towards him for the life of thy young children, that famish for hunger in all the corners of the streets.* These words perhaps were meant, in divers measures, of both calamities; but the complaint following, of the later only under Titus: *Behold, O Lord, and consider to whom thou hast done thus.*

Shall the women eat their fruit, and children of a span long? shall the priest and the prophet be slain in the sanctuary of the Lord? the young and the old lie on the ground: my virgins and my young men are fallen by the sword; thou hast slain them in the day of thy wrath; thou hast killed, and not spared. Thou hast called as in a solemn day my terrors round about; so that in the day of the Lord's wrath none escaped or remained: those that I have nourished and brought up hath mine enemy consumed[u].

2. Many particulars, here set down by Jeremy, are not so much as once intimated by the sacred story, which describes the siege by Nebuchadnezzar. But no calamity either intimated by any historical relations of those times, or prefigured in Jeremy's complaint, but in this later siege by Titus, is most exactly fulfilled: as if the Lord had but sown the seeds of destruction and desolation by Nebuchadnezzar, which now being come to their full growth and ripeness, this people must reap according to the full measure of their iniquity. They are as dry stubble, and the Romans as a consuming fire. Nebuchadnezzar's host perhaps slew some, but had no occasion to make a general massacre in the temple, destitute of defendants ere it was taken, the king and his greatest commanders being first fled into the wilderness; nor was it destroyed until the heat of war was past, and most of the people led into captivity. But whilst in this later destruction by Titus, it fell by the furious heat and brunt of war, the number of such, as were either willing or forced to end their days with it, was of all sorts exceeding great[x]: and, which was most miserable, many who had taken their farewell of life, and had bid death welcome,

[u] Lament. ii. 17, &c.

[x] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 10, 11. [aliis lib. 6. cap. 4 et 5. p. 385.]

revived again to renew their more than deadly sorrows, and to reiterate their bitter complaints, which this lamentable accident could only teach them to act aright, and utter with such tragical and hideous accent, as was befitting a calamity so strange and fearful as never had been known before. Even such as famine had caused to faint, having their vocal instruments clung together, and their eyes more than half closed up with death, upon sight or noise of the temple's crackling in its last and fatal fire, roused up their spirits, and resumed their wonted strength, to proclaim unto all 101
neighbour regions in shrill and loudest outcries, *that there was never any sorrow like unto this sorrow wherewith the Lord had afflicted them in the day of his fierce wrath;* and yet they blow the fire which it had kindled, ventilating and enlarging the devouring flame, (whose extinction the abundance of their blood did otherwise seem to threaten,) by violent breathing out their last breath into it. The ghastly confusion of this fearful spectacle and hideous noise are so lively expressed by Josephus and others, that they may well serve the Christian reader as a map of hellish misery. I only prosecute the fulfilling of Jeremy's prophecy in particulars related by Josephus[y]: as of the woman's eating her child, a thing [z]never heard of in that or any nation before: of the priests' slaughter both in the temple and after the destruction of it. For Titus, otherwise inclined to mercy, seeing it consumed by fire, which he sought by all means to save, commanded such of the priests, as had escaped the flame, in a by-room adjoining, to be executed, telling them, It was fit they should perish with the temple, for whose sake might it have

[y] Joseph. lib. 7. c. 8. De Bello Judaic. [al. lib. 6. cap. 3. p. 381.]

[z] So the circumstances of his relation plainly shew. It was worse than that, 2 Kings vi.

stood, he willingly would have saved their lives. Again, the massacre of the promiscuous multitude of women and children, unfit for war, are particularly described with all the circumstances by Josephus, book 7. chap. 11. [al. lib. 6. cap. 5. p. 388.] of the Jewish Wars. "Of six thousand persuaded by a false prophet to repair unto the temple, there to expect signs from God of their deliverance, not one man, woman, or child escaped."

3. Thus Moses foreshews the grievous plagues which hung over this nation's head, but then afar off: Jeremy after points out the very place where they shall fall; our Saviour Christ only knew the distinct period of time, wherein both the former prophecies should be accomplished. I will not trouble the reader with rehearsal of particular calamities foretold by him[b]; their observation is already made unto his hand by Eusebius, and will apply themselves, being compared with Josephus; so perhaps will not some places of scripture following, though as much concerning the same times. For the better understanding of which, we must call to mind what was observed before; "that Hierusalem was the Lord's own seat, and the Jews a people set apart by him, and distinguished of purpose from others, to exemplify his mercy and justice in their prosperity and distress." Consequent hereunto his pleasure was, that in the desolation of Jewry and destruction of the temple, other nations should be put in mind of their mortality, and not think in their hearts that these were greater sinners than any other nation; but rather that he who plagued them was Lord of the whole earth, as well as Jewry; that the like and more fearful judgments did hang over their heads, unless they would learn, by the known calamities of this people, to avoid them. So saith the

[b] Matt. xxiv. Luke xxi.

Lord to all the earth without exception[c]. *For, lo, I begin to plague the city where my name is called upon, and should you go free? Ye shall not go quit: for I will call for a sword upon all the inhabitants of the earth, saith the Lord of hosts. Therefore prophesy thou against them all these words, and say unto them, The Lord shall roar from above, and thrust out his voice from his holy habitation; he shall roar upon his habitation; and cry aloud, as they that press the grapes, against all the inhabitants of the earth. The sound shall come to the ends of the earth; for the Lord hath* 102 *a controversy with the nations, and will enter into judgment with all flesh; and he will give them that are wicked to the sword. And thus saith the Lord God of hosts, Behold, a plague shall go forth from nation to nation, and a great whirlwind shall be raised from the coasts of the earth. And the slain of the Lord shall be at that day from one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth: they shall not be mourned, neither gathered, nor buried; but shall be as the dung upon the ground. Howl, ye shepherds, and cry; and wallow yourselves in ashes, ye principal of the flock: for your days of slaughter are accomplished, and of your dispersion; and ye shall fall like precious vessels. And the flight shall fail from the shepherds, and the escaping from the principal of the flock.* Thus when the city and temple was first destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, all the nations round about them were enforced to taste of the same cup. Babylon herself that began the carouse, which she meant not to pledge, hoping to make herself sport to see others drunk with the blood of their slain, was compelled at length to drink so deep of the dregs, *till*, (as the Prophet speaketh,) *all her strong men did fall*,

[c] Jer. xxv. 29—35.

and her princes slept their everlasting sleep. This prophecy notwithstanding concerns the second destruction of Hierusalem, as literally as the former: and sundry plagues here mentioned, for ought that can be gathered from any history, sacred or profane, were not in any degree verified of the nations, in the days of Nebuchadnezzar, or his son. But scarce any nation was free from such calamities as are here described, in the time of Titus and his successors, as shall be declared anon. Rome herself, which had rejoiced at Judah's misery, and triumphed in Israel's woe, trodden Hierusalem under her feet, and given her dust and ashes for a covering to her nakedness, was shortly after pinched at the heart with like sorrows; howsoever her outward robes of majesty did cover her secret wounds from their eyes that lived after, or beheld her estate only afar off, not acquainted with her inward gripes or smothered outcries. All is not sound within, that is fair without, nor they furthest from danger who feel least pain for the present: such as since have lived securest, neither regardful of Hierusalem's misery, nor the calamities of other nations that ensued them, altogether unacquainted with any like sorrows of their own times, shall have their deepest share in the horrors of that dreadful day, whereof these were but shadows and maps to represent unto us in some proportion the inconceivable affrightments that shall then appear. But as no man knows of that day and hour, so neither did the prophets themselves distinctly conceive the manner of it: they did see it only in these adumbrations, which in process of time grew still more lively. The second destruction of Hierusalem, and the signs following it, exceeds the former in the distinct prefiguration of the latter day, as much as a map of a particular country taken at large, doth the representation of the same in

a general map of the whole earth, of like quantity. And as maps have a distinct quantity of their own, easy to be known by sense, but which no man measures so much for itself, as for to know the capacity of the country which it represents; so have most prophecies of the Old Testament a distinct, peculiar, natural, or literal sense verified in the time of the law, which is not so much to be respected as the mysteries of the gospel, or matters of the world to come prefigured by these events past: the most secret of which mysteries, after some one or few circumstances be revealed, may 103
be distinctly known. For the proportion of one circumstance or event with another, is all one in the latter and in the former; so that by the distinct knowledge of the former we may discern the latter, after it be paralleled in any one part: as by the measure of a map we find out the quantity of the ground represented. For this reason hath our Saviour Christ pictured us out the last day by the calamities of Hierusalem only. For (under correction) I should think that no one part of his prophecy, Matt. xxiv, from the 15th to the 36th verse, but is literally meant, and hath been verified of Hierusalem's fatal day, and the times ensuing. For so our Saviour concludes; *Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass till all these things be done.* All what? All he had spoken of before. What! did the sign of the Son of man appear? did he send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, to gather the elect from the four winds? No. Christ is not yet come: the elect are not thus gathered. Yet upon Hierusalem's destruction they had the watchword given; the nations had then a glimpse of his last coming in glory: then it sounded the first time unto judgment; and the sun and moon were seen in tragical attire, that the whole world might take notice of such

a woeful tragedy towards, as we expect: wherein the whole frame of nature, even the earth itself, this stage of mortality, shall be actors; and all mankind were then set to learn their parts. Our Saviour's coming with *power and great glory*, mentioned in the ninth verse, must be understood in such a sense, as he is said to have come *in his kingdom*, or *with power*, at his transfiguration. And that first verse of the ninth of Mark will best interpret the place above cited, Matt. xxiv. 34. Sundry learned interpreters, I know, expound both places otherwise[d]. But, to omit the former for this present, the continuation of our Saviour's speech doth enforce this my interpretation of Saint Matthew. For having spoken of the calamities that were shortly to fall out in Judah and Hierusalem, (as all agree,) in the former verses, he addeth, verse 29. And *immediately after the tribulations of those days shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of heaven shall be shaken: and then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven: and then shall all the kindreds of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man come in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory. And he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, and from the one end of heaven to the other. Now learn a parable of the fig tree; When her bough is yet tender, and it bringeth forth leaves, ye know that summer is near: so likewise when ye see all*

[d] Some interpret these words of the gospel's promulgation, which is called *the power of God:* but it is usual in prophecies, to attribute that unto the type or pledge which is proper to the substance. And Christ's transfiguration was both a lively type and a pledge of his future appearance in power and great glory.

these things, know that the kingdom of God is near, even at the doors. Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass, till all these things be done. Some refer these words, *immediately after*, to the troubles of the church; as if their meaning were this: And immediately after God hath made an end of the troubles of his church, these signs shall follow. But who knows when that shall be? whereas our Saviour's words must be referred to those days whereof he had spoken, which were comprised within determinate and set bounds, and would shortly manifest themselves; so as all men might be certain when to expect those signs, which he promised to all the world for the confirmation of his doctrine and their faith. The full and natural meaning of the place is as if he had said: 104 When you have seen Hierusalem's fatal day, then look for such signs in the sun and moon as I have told, for the one doth prognosticate the other's approach, as certainly as the budding of the fig tree doth summer. The like connexion of these fearful signs with Hierusalem's desolation we have in St. Luke, chap. xxi. 25. Having spoken before only of the tribulation of Hierusalem, he continueth his speech: *Then there shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars; and upon the earth trouble amongst the nations, with perplexity; the sea and the waters shall roar; and men's hearts shall fail them for fear, and for looking after those things which shall come on the world: for the powers of heaven shall be shaken. And then shall they see the Son of man come in a cloud with power and great glory. And when these things begin to come to pass, then look up, and lift up your heads; for your redemption draweth near. And he spake to them a parable; Behold the fig tree, and all trees; when they now shoot forth, ye seeing them know of*

your own selves that summer is then near. So likewise ye, when ye see these things come to pass, know ye that the kingdom of God is near. Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass, till all these things be done. As we are bound by Christian faith to believe that this prophecy is not yet, but shall be fully accomplished at the last day; so in truth I should suspect my heart of infidelity, if I did not acknowledge it truly verified (in such a sense as I have intimated) immediately after the destruction of Hierusalem. The former distinction of our Saviour's coming in power, or to present the terrors of the last day, and his last coming unto judgment indeed, he himself hath intimated; for he gave his disciples infallible signs when they might certainly expect the former, verse 33. *Heaven and earth shall pass, &c. but of that day and hour,* (to wit, of the last judgment,) *no man, no not the angels of heaven, but my Father only knoweth.* As if he had said; This last day shall not come with such observation as the former will: the signs here described shall not prognosticate, but accompany it: in the former, there were signs in the sun and moon; but in the latter, both sun and moon shall cease to be: in the former, *the powers of heaven were shaken, the earth did tremble, and the sea did roar;* in the latter, *the heavens shall be gathered like a scroll, and pass away with a noise, the elements shall melt with heat*[e], *and the earth with the works that are therein shall be burnt, the sea shall be no more*[f]: the whole frame of nature shall be dissolved on a sudden, and such as until that time mind earthly matters, confining their thoughts within this sphere of mortality, shall be entrapped in the ruins, and prest down to hell with the weight of it; only such as being *in* this world are not *of* it, but

[e] 2 Pet. iii. 12. [f] Revel. xxi. 1.

have their conversation in heaven, where their Redeemer sits at the right hand of God, shall escape these sudden and fearful dangers, as birds that are without the compass of the trap when it begins to fall; seeing it will be too late for men to begin their belief then; too late to fly from death, when destruction hath surprised them; or to cry for mercy first, when God's judgments begin to seize upon the world. The atheist or careless worldling may gather both the terrors and calamities of that day, from the often mentioned lively representation of it under Titus: for even in his time the heavens and the earth did threaten to pass away, that all the world might know Christ's words should not pass away. The fire of God's wrath, which Moses 105
had foretold should eat the foundations of the mountains in Jewry; and such as Josephus[g] tells us had been kindled in the holy mount, did devour the foundations of the mount Vesuvius in Campania[h]. The consequences thereof, with other prodigious concomitants, were so strange and fearful, that if we compare the ingenious heathen historiographer's description of them, with the forecited place of St. Luke, his relation doth as fully answer our Saviour's prediction, as the historical narrations of events past, contained in scripture, do the prophecies that had gone of them before.

4. "The sudden earthquakes were so grievous, that all the valley was sultering hot, and the tops of the mountains sunk down; under the ground were noises like thunder, answered with like bellowings above. The sea roared, and the heavens resounded like noise; huge and great crashings were heard, as if the mountains had fallen together; great stones leaped out of

[g] Bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 11. [aliis lib. 5. cap. 5. p. 388.]

[h] It is worth the labour to compare the 16th and 20th Epist. of Pliny's sixth book of Epistles with Dion; and consider.

their places, as high as tops of hills; and after them issued abundance of fire and smoke, insomuch that it darkened the air and obscured the sun, as if it had been eclipsed, so that night was turned into day, and day into night. Many were persuaded that the giants had raised some civil broils amongst themselves, because they did see their shapes in the smoke, and heard a noise of trumpets: others thought the world should be resolved into the old chaos, or consumed with fire; some ran out of their houses into the streets; others from the streets or highways into their houses; others from sea to land; some again from the land to the sea." So Dion. l. 66. [cap. 23.]

5. These questionless were *the signs of the Son of man*, that made all the kindreds of the earth thus mourn. For the calamity was public: the abundance of ashes and dust was such, that it overspread Egypt, Afric, and Syria, choking not only men, but beasts and birds, poisoning fishes, and spoiling the grounds where it came. The inhabitants of Rome (whither this infection came a few days after the fire kindled in Campania) thought that the frame of the world had been out of joint: that the sun did fall down to the earth, and the earth ascend up to heaven. And albeit the ashes and dust did not such present harm there, as it had done every where else; yet it bred a most grievous pestilence breaking out not long after: and in the year following, whilst Titus went to view the calamities of Campania, a great part of Rome was burnt by fire issuing out of the ground. Amongst other harms, these following were most remarkable: it consumed the temple of Serapis, of Isis, of Neptune, the Pantheon, the Diribitorium, the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, unto which the Jews were not long before enjoined to pay that tribute which they formerly had

done to the temple of Hierusalem. Thus though the ark be taken, yet will it be the downfall of Dagon their chief god that took it: and though Hierusalem lay buried in her ruins, for her people's grievous sins, yet shall her's, as all sacred pensions sacrilegiously employed, devour the seats of their possessors. But what can we more say, than this noble historiographer hath said of this event: *Id malum Divinum potius quam humanum fuit*[i]: this was a calamity more than human, in which the finger of God was evidently seen. And as it was a type of the last day; so may it, and the like following, confirm the truth of Sodom's de- 106
struction. Nor did God speak only once in this language to the Roman: (to omit other wonderful works of God in these times, to be recounted in their proper place.) The like fearful earthquakes, with other prodigious concomitants, fell out in Trajan's time at Antioch; but the harms not terminate within her territories, or the cities about her, herewith destroyed. For abundance of soldiers and multitudes of other people did repair from all quarters to the emperor wintering there; some in embassages, some for suits, some upon other businesses, some to see plays and pageants. Whence the damage, as this author saith, did redound to all that were subject to the Roman empire. This out of question was the Lord's doing, *that all the world might hear and fear his wondrous works*, and wondering inquire after the true causes and meaning of them. Thus Antioch, as well as Edom and Babylon, is overtaken with the Psalmist's curse, for *rejoicing in the day of Jerusalem*. Besides the massacres of the Jews there committed when Titus came unto that city; the inhabitants after their insinuating gratulations, petitioned with all humility and

[i] Dion. lib. 66. [cap. 24.]

policy[k], that the relics of this people (for whom there was no place left in their own land) might be extirpate thence, comprising the Christians, no doubt, under this name.

6. Many particulars, then known, are not registered by such heathen writers as now are extant; and many signs of those times not regarded by any heathen: all which might witness the truth of our Saviour's predictions, and expound their meaning, were they as well known to us as to the faithful then living; whose meditations, it seems, were so wholly taken up with these contemplations, that they had no leisure to leave their comments in writing to posterity. That dreadful woe directed against the women of Hierusalem, with child and giving suck, did take these Antiochians at the rebound. Women in such cases could not die but a double death, and yet how many such were slain none can tell. Of an infinite company of all sorts, starved by their close imprisonment in houses, whose foundations were sunk, the roof remaining, "only one woman was found alive, which had sustained herself and her child by her milk; another child found in the like concavity alive, sucking his deceased mother's dugs[l]." In fine, saith the author, there was no kind of violent disaster, which did not at this time befall men. For the earthquakes being caused by the Divine power, men's wits were not their own, nor knew they what medicine to seek for these mishaps. Such as were on the housetops had no list to descend to fetch any thing out; such as were in the field, had no mind to return back to fetch their clothes; Trajan himself was drawn out at a window by no mortal creature; (as this writer

[k] See Jos. lib. 7. de Bell. Jud. c 21. or 24. [aliis cap. 5. p. 412.]

[l] Dion. l. 68. [c. 24 et 25.]

thinks;) so astonished with this disastrous sight, that for many days after the earthquake had ceased he durst not come into any house. See Dion. l. 68.

7. Neither of these strange signs of the Son of man fell out in any corner of the world, but the one in the chief, the other in the second city of the empire, at that time the emperor's court: so that the whole world's representative (as we may so speak) was in danger, and all men, at least men of all sorts, at their wit's end; and by their terrors all mankind had public warning to prepare themselves against *that terrible and dreadful day:* these being such types of it, as the 107
first destruction of the holy city and temple by Nebuchadnezzar, was of the second by Titus; so as that which is truly said of the one, may in an higher degree be truly avouched of the other.

8. Of these times again was that of the prophet meant[m]; *I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy. And I will shew wonders in the heavens and in the earth, blood, and fire, and pillars of smoke: the sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and terrible day of the Lord come. But whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved.* If we rightly observe the prophet's method in this place, it will both justify and illustrate the former interpretation of Jeremy and our Saviour's prophecy. First he speaks (none can deny) of Christ's coming in the flesh, and effusion of the Holy Ghost upon all people; *I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh.* By the Spirit, the gospel was to be communicated to all nations: and thus (as the evangelist witnesseth[n]) at the first descending of the Holy Ghost upon the apostles, *there were resident at Hierusalem men that feared*

[m] Joel ii. 28, 30, 31. Zach. xiv. 7. [n] Acts ii. 5.

God of every nation under heaven[o]*:* and all these at their baptism received the gift of the Holy Ghost, whereby they might manifest the power and virtue of the gospel unto the countries where they lived. If we compare the generality of St. Luke's speech in that fifth verse with our Saviour's, Matt. xxiv. 14; *And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached throughout the whole world for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come:* we cannot doubt but our Saviour's prophecy was verified before the destruction of Hierusalem, which was the end he meant should come. But why should the prophet Joel, immediately after his description of the time of grace, add in the second place, *I will shew wonders in the heavens and in the earth, blood, and fire, and pillars of smoke?* Doth he call the people of God again unto mount Sinai, *to fire, blackness, darkness, and tempest, unto the sound of trumpets, the voice of words, which they that once had heard should not desire to hear any more?* No: but he would have the world understand, that after the gospel was once proclaimed throughout it, the Lord would shew himself as terrible a judge to all such as did not embrace the glad tidings thereof, as he had done before to the Israelites at the promulgation of the law. Both that fearful sight in mount Sinai, and those other prodigious apparitions in Italy and Syria, were types and representations of that dreadful day. The former was seen and testified by the Israelites only, because the law was only revealed to them: the horrors of the latter are registered by heathen writers, known and felt by the principal nations of the world, and from them diffused to all others, (as earthquakes, which begin at the centre, leave their effects upon the whole surface of the earth,) because the gospel was at that time com-

[o] Acts ii. 5.

municate to all the inhabited or frequented parts of the world. Those prodigious signs then, which the prophet Joel describes, and the heathen witness to have been so frequent among the nations, presently after Jerusalem's destruction, and the extirpation of the Jews, were added as so many seals, to assure the truth of the prophets and gospel; and to testify both to Jew and Gentile, that if either the one did follow his Jewish sacrifice, or the other his wonted idolatry, after the truth of God's new covenant with mankind was sealed 108 and proclaimed, *there remained no more sacrifice for sins, but a fearful looking for of judgment and violent fire:* that there was no other name under heaven able to save them from such everlasting flames, as they now had seen some flashes of, but only *the name of Jesus*, whom the Jew had crucified. So the prophet Joel concludes, *Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord*, that is, of Jesus, (for now *all Israel might know for a surety, that God had made that Jesus whom they had crucified, both Lord and Christ,*) *he shall be saved.* The fruits of calling upon the name of the Lord, and that distinction betwixt the state of the elect and reprobate, intimated by the prophet in the last verse of that chapter, shall be most fully manifested in the day of judgment: for such as have watched and prayed continually, always expecting their Master's coming, shall upon the first apprehension of his approach lift up their heads, as knowing that their redemption draweth near. But for the riotous or careless liver, he shall not be able to stand before the Son of man: instead of calling upon his name, he shall cry unto the hills, *Cover me*, and to the mountains, *Fall ye upon me.* Yet was the same distinction between the reprobate and the elect truly notified by the confident carriage of the Christians in those fearful times lately

mentioned, (which did so much affright the heathen,) as we may gather from Antoninus the emperor's decree, inhibiting the Christians' persecution by the commons of Asia. It seems the other had accused the Christians as hurtful persons and offensive to the gods; unto which the emperor makes reply in this manner[p]: "I know the gods are careful to disclose hurtful persons; for they punish such as will not worship them, more grievously than you do those whom you bring in trouble, confirming that opinion which they conceive of you, to be wicked and ungodly men.—It shall seem requisite to admonish you of the earthquakes, which have and do happen amongst us; that being therewith moved, ye may compare our estate with theirs: they have more confidence to Godwards than you have." I will shut up this discourse for the present with that saying of our Saviour[q], *Remember Lot's wife:* and his exhortation, *Take heed to yourselves, lest at any time your hearts be oppressed with surfeiting, and drunkenness, and cares of this life, and lest that day come on you unawares. For as a snare shall it come on all them that dwell on the face of the whole earth.* So did the former calamities in Titus' and Trajan's time, which were as the days of Noah; *they ate, they drank, and rose up to play:* and when they said, *Pax et tuta omnia*, sudden destruction came as an unexpected actor upon the stage. For as you heard before, one cause of the great concourse unto Antioch at that direful season, was to see plays and prizes: and in the former under Titus, two whole cities[r] were overwhelmed with the tempest of God's wrath, while

[p] Euseb. [Histor. Eccles.] l. 4. c. 13.

[q] Luke xxi. 34.

[r] Duas integras urbes, Herculaneum et Pompeios, populo sedente in theatro, penitus obruit. Dion. l. 66. [cap. 23.]

the citizens were sitting in the theatre. So "must all such fruitless spectacles, or pleasant (but unseasonable) comedies, be concluded with their spectators' tragedy in the catastrophe of this great and spacious amphitheatre."

All that follows, till you come at the ninth paragraph, was an Appendix in the former edition; yet set before the whole Book; and so must be accounted, and allowed for in the reading. 109

ALBEIT lawful in every age it hath been, to vary (if without dissension) from former interpreters, in unfolding Divine mysteries, without censure of irregularity, so the explication be parallel to the analogy of faith: yet partly, to clear myself from all suspicion of affecting novelties; partly, more fully to satisfy the ingenious and unpartial reader, I have thought good to acquaint him with some observations, which have almost betrothed my mind unto that exposition of our Saviour's words related by St. Matthew and St. Luke, which I here commend to his Christian consideration.

That happily will cause others to suspend their judgments, which for a long time did retard my persuasion, and inhibit my assent unto the truth I here deliver. For albeit the reasons alleged seemed very probable, whilst weighed apart, but far more pregnant from comparing the concurrence of all circumstances, which led me to that opinion: yet on the other side strange it seemed, that my best grounds borrowed from the relation of antiquity, no an living shortly after those times, should ha
But whilst I considered again h
ther in his just judgment for
or in his wisdom and merc

future generations, had deprived us of all their sacred meditations, that lived about Titus's time, or immediately after: both effects, as I conceived, might have one and the same just cause, though secret and only known to God, not fit for us to make any further inquiry after, than might stir us up to true admiration of his wisdom. And truly admirable his wisdom seemed in this, that the canon of the New Testament being finished in the most known tongue then extant in the world, (in which respect besides others, the gospel of the kingdom might be truly said to be preached through the whole, for a witness to all nations,) he would have it severed from all other writings, as well by the subsequent as precedent silence of ecclesiastical sacred writers. He that would not have *any prophet in Israel* after the erection of the second temple, would not for the same cause only known to him, have any writings of men (otherwise most religious and devout) to be extant in the age immediately following the gospel's promulgation, that it thus shining like a solid or compact glorious star in the transparent sphere, environed every where with vacuity, might more clearly manifest itself by its own light to be supercelestial.

Necessary it was the period of that generation, wherein our Saviour lived and died, should have the
110 Divine truth of his gospel confirmed unto them by signs (as the prophet speaks[s]) *in the heavens and in the earth*, to increase their care and diligence in commending it to posterity, who were to rely on it immediately, not on their forefathers' relation of signs past. The like or more effectual, and as fully answerable to the rules set down in it, they could not want, so long as they carried souls or minds careful to observe and practise what is prescribed. And who knows

[s] Joel ii. 30.

whether the Lord had not appointed, that the serious consideration of those prodigious signs, which followed the publishing of the gospel, should sleep in all or most intermediate ages, till these latter days wherein we live, wherein such observations are more seasonable, we being the men on whom the latter ends of the world are come. Happily had ecclesiastic writers commented upon those times, our curious modern wits, too much addicted unto gentilism, would have given less credence to the pregnant testimonies of profane authors, as suspecting, lest Christians (in whose custody their writings for many generations have been) had infected either the whole discourses or some peculiar circumstances pertinent to their purposes, or apt to countenance their opinions, otherwise improbable in the world's judgment. But now, by how much the silence of ecclesiastic authors in these narrations hath been greater, and the testimonies of heathen writers more plentiful or pregnant, so much the more unexcusable is the curious and unregenerate artist, or incredulous atheist. That most generations, since those times whereof we treat, should expect signs in the sun and moon, to come before the day of judgment, cannot seem either strange in itself, or prejudicial to this doctrine which we deliver, if we call to mind how men otherwise truly religious have been usually ignorant or mistaken in the meaning of Divine mysteries, until the time appointed for their revelation, or until they unfold their enigmatical construction by the approach or real existence of the events foretold. Thus, many well affected to our Saviour and his doctrine did expect Eli
should come before the kingdom were restored to Is
even whilst they had John Baptist (of wh
prophecy was properly meant) amongst
after he had sealed his embassage w

Even in the apostles' time, that our Saviour should instantly come to give final judgment, was an opinion (as it seems from St. Paul his admonition to the Thessalonians[t]) generally received amongst Christians: first occasioned as is most probable from misconstruction of our Saviour's prophecy, *Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass till all these things be done*, and this misconstruction caused from a common error or ignorance in not distinguishing betwixt the typical and the mystical or substantial sense of prophecies; ofttimes, both alike literally and necessarily imported in the selfsame words.

From this error of Christians in misapplying our Saviour's words unto the substance, which, for that time, were only appliable to the type, was the like tradition propagated to the heathen of those times; as may be gathered from Lucan, who lived when St. Paul flourished, and died by the same tyrant's appointment. His description of the last day is but a poetical descant upon our Saviour's words related by three of his evangelists: *The sun shall wax dark, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars of heaven shall fall, and the powers of heaven shall be shaken.*

111 [u] ——————*sic, cum compage soluta,*
Secula tot mundi suprema coegerit hora,
Antiquum repetens iterum chaos, omnia mistis
Sidera sideribus concurrent: ignea pontum
Astra petent: tellus extendere littora nolet,
Excutietque fretum: fratri contraria Phœbe
Ibit, et obliquum bigas agitare per orbem
Indignata, diem poscet sibi: totaque discors
Machina divulsi turbabit fœdera mundi.

When the last hour hath summed up time, and when
This frame resolves into its first chaos; then
The stars shall justle, reel, fall foul, and drop

[t] 2 Thess. ii. 1. [u] Lucan. lib. 1. [line 72.]

Into the sea. Churl earth will grudge, and stop
The water's course. The moon shall counter-move
The sun, and claim to rule the day. Thus love,
(Love, that atoned each atom with his brother,
Made feuds, (in league or truce,) to kiss each other;)
Love, ligament of the universe, turned hate;
All falls in pieces——. See you doomsday's fate!

The Romans might well have taken their martyred poet for a prophet, at least in this prediction, when within few years after they did behold the sun and moon, with all the host and powers of heaven, tragically acting what he had penned. [x]The Romans' conceit of that rueful spectacle, whose admiration had brought her great philosopher[y], nature's curious secretary, to his untimely death, in Dion's words, book 66. [c. 23.] was thus: *Postremo tantus fuit cinis, ut inde pervenerit in Africam, Syriam, et Ægyptum, introieritque Romam, ejusque aerem compleverit, et solem obscuraverit. Nec mediocris etiam Romæ trepidatio complures ad dies accidit,* [or as some read, *id Romæ accidit paucis post diebus,*] *quum omnes ignorarent id quod factum erat in Campania, nec quid esset, conjectura assequi possent. Itaque etiam ii putare cœperunt omnia sursum deorsum ferri, solemque in terram cadere, ac terram in cœlum conscendere*[z]. So well doth this heathen express the prophet's words, *I will shew wonders in the heavens and in the earth, blood, and fire, and pillars of smoke,* Joel ii. 30. But most admirable is the consent between the same pro-

[x] A preamble to such effects they might have seen in that calamity at Vesuvius, Jam navibus cinis inciderat: quo propius accederet calidior et densior. Jam pumices etiam, nigrique et ambusti, et fracti igne lapides: jam vadum subitum, ruinaque montis littora obstantia. Plin. lib. 6. Epist. 16.

[y] It was he that writ the natural history.

[z] See the fourth paragraph of this chapter, where this is Enlarged.

phet and Pliny the younger, who was an eyewitness of the first rising of that smoke, portending such dismal times. *That great and terrible day of the Lord, before which* (as the prophet speaks) *the sun was to be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood*, was not to be terminated unto one set, natural, or artificial day, but to be extended unto all the prodigious calamities, which after Jerusalem's destruction successively ensued throughout the world, or, (as another prophet speaks[a],) unto the continuance of that great controversy which the Lord had with the nations: before which, the burning of Vesuvius was as a beacon to give warning to all flesh. And the ingenious reader will, I hope, be incited, by Pliny's expressing the beginning of that prodigious sight, to admire the hidden mysteries that are often enrapt in the enigmatical propriety of prophetical words, rather than censure this observation following
112 for a tale of smoke or critical conjecture, set beyond that region wherein these fiery comets appeared. The word in the original, rendered by *pillars*, properly signifies a *palm-tree*; from the analogy betwixt pillars and whose long trunk and broad top, it comes to signify a *pillar* or *supporter*. Pliny the younger, setting down the occasion and manner of his uncle's death, resembles the first apparition of that huge and strange cloud unto a pine-tree[b]; for to no other (as he saith) he could more fitly compare it, though for this reason it might altogether as fitly have been compared to a palm-tree[c], had that tree been as well known in Italy as in the region wherein the prophet lived that did

[a] Jer. xxv. 31.

[b] Pinaster nihil est aliud quam pinus silvestris mira altitudine, et a medio ramosa, sicut pinus in vertice. Plin. Hist. l. 16. cap. 10.

[c] Pliny the philosopher saith of palm-trees, "merito dicentur externæ. Nulla est in Italia sponte genita—. Teretes atque proceræ sunt—coma omnis in cacumine." l. 13. c. 4.

foretell this strange apparition so long before. Pliny's words are these: *Mater mea indicat ei apparere nubem inusitata et magnitudine et specie. Surgit ille—ascendit locum, ex quo maxime miraculum illud conspici poterat. Nubes, incertum procul intuentibus ex quo monte, (Vesuvium fuisse postea cognitum est,) oriebatur: cujus formam non alia magis arbor quam pinus expresserit. Nam longissimo velut trunco elata in altum quibusdam ramis diffundebatur. Credo, quia recenti spiritu evecta, dein senescente eo destituta, aut etiam pondere suo victa, in latitudinem vanescebat, candida interdum, interdum*[d] *sordida et maculosa, prout terram cineremve sustulerat. Magnum id, propiusque noscendum ut eruditissimo viro visum est.* It was told him, "that there appeared a cloud, for bigness and shape never the like seen. Up he gets—and goes to an advantage whence he might the better see that strange sight. A cloud rose, (as yet the beholders knew not from what mountain, afterwards it was found to be Vesuvius,) much resembling a pine-tree, for it seemed to have as it were a long trunk, and boughs spreading out above. Sometime it appeared white, otherwhile dusky and dappled, (or stained and spotted,) according to the blended proportions of earth and ashes. He thought it a strange sight indeed, and worthy his adventuring nearer to view it," &c. That the sun was turned into darkness, that with this smoke was mixed fire, may appear from the same author's words a little after: *Jam dies alibi, illic nox omnibus noctibus nigrior, densiorque, quam tamen faces*[e] *multæ, variaque lumina solvebant.* Plin. Ep. l. 6. Ep. 16.

This, which occasioned wonderment to the heathen, was (no doubt) a sufficient warning to all godly

[d] Representing blood and fire as the prophet had foretold.

[e] Fiery meteors.

Christians to betake themselves to their prayers: to expect the confirmation of their faith by their mighty deliverance from those dangers, wherein innumerable heathens utterly perished, which made the hearts of all mankind (besides) to fail. This corporal preservation of the elect from fear or danger, whilst castaways perished, and trouble raged among the nations, was that redemption which our Saviour speaks of.

And when these things begin to come to pass, then look up, and lift up your heads; for your redemption draweth nigh[f]. For this was a sure type or pledge of their and our everlasting redemption. And before the bursting out of that fire, and the erection of those pillars of smoke before mentioned, God, as our Saviour foretold, had sent his angels to gather his elect together, either to places free from those general calamities, or miraculously to preserve them in the midst of them.

113 For to deny or suspect the truth of Dion's relations, I have no reason: and yet what other cause to assign of those giants' apparitions in Vesuvius, and the towns about it immediately before that danger, I know not, but only that which our Saviour had given.

And he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, and from the one end of the heaven to the other[g].

Thus Dion; *Ita vero res acta: viri multi et magni omnem naturam humanam excedentes, quales exprimuntur gigantes, partim in ipso monte, partim in agro circumjacente, ac in oppidis interdiu noctuque terram obire, atque aera permeare visebantur. Posthæc consecuta est maxima siccitas, ac repente ita graves terræ motus facti*, &c. l. 66. [c. 22.]

The like gathering of the elect, ecclesiastic writers

[f] Luke xxi. 28. [g] Matt. xxiv. 31.

mention in the siege of Jerusalem and Jewish wars; the godly sit at ease and in peace, whilst the obstinate and seditious were overwhelmed with calamity upon calamity. And yet all the calamities which accompanied Jerusalem's destruction did in greater measure afflict the heathens within few years after it was destroyed. Above other places, God's plagues haunted the Roman court, that all the world might take notice of our Saviour's prophecies. And the Romans, albeit they knew not who had given the advice, resolved yet to practise as our Saviour advised. *Let him* (saith our Saviour) *that is upon the housetop not come down into the house, neither enter therein, to fetch any thing out of his house: and let him that is in the field not turn back again unto the things which he left behind him to take his clothes*[h]. So Pliny testifies that in the times above mentioned, albeit the pumice stones did fly about men's ears in the open fields; yet they held it more safe during the earthquake to be abroad than within doors, arming their heads with pillows and bolsters against the blows they expected. *In commune consultant, intra tecta subsistant, an in aperto vagentur: nam crebris vastisque tremoribus tecta nutabant, et quasi emota sedibus suis, nunc huc, nunc illuc abire, aut referri videbantur. Sub dio rursus, quanquam levium exesorumque pumicum casus metuebatur: quod tamen malorum collatio elegit—. Cervicalia capitibus imposita linteis constringunt. Id munimentum adversus incidentia fuit.* Plin. Ep. l. 6. Ep. 16.

This was the beginning of that *great and terrible day of the Lord*, foretold by the prophet, wherewith the world was for a long time shaken by fits, as it were by a deadly fever, as may appear from the like cala-

[h] Mark xiii. 15, 16.

mities in Trajan's times, related by Dion. Our Saviour himself expounds the prophet's words not of one day, but days; *for there shall be in those days such tribulation, as was not from the beginning of the creation which God created, neither shall be*[i]. So terrible were these days, that, as our Saviour in the next words addeth, *except the Lord had made an end of them, they had quickly made an end of all mankind.* Even at that time the world by the ordinary course of God's justice should have been destroyed, but he spared it at the instant prayers of his chosen, as he would have saved Sodom after judgment was gone out, had there been but a few such faithful men in it, as in the forementioned times the world had many. So merciful is our God, so loving unto all the works of his hands, that his Son cannot come to judgment so long as he shall *find faith upon the earth. Whosoever*, saith the prophet, *shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved;* yea, he shall save others, as our blessed Saviour
114 more fully foretells what the prophet saw but in part: *Except that the Lord had shortened those days, no flesh should be saved: but for the elect's sake, which he hath chosen, he hath shortened those days*[k]. Other prophecies there be of those times, which seem to intimate a final destruction of all flesh without delay: and so, no doubt, the prophets themselves conceived of the world, as Jonah did of Nineve, which he looked should instantly have perished upon the expiration of the time he had foretold. Wrath they had seen go out from the Lord, of force enough to have dissolved the frame of nature, but could not usually foresee either the number of the faithful, or the dispositions of men's hearts upon their summons: but this great prophet, who only foresaw all things, not only foretells the calamities or judg-

[i] Mark xiii. 19. [k] Mark xiii. 20.

ments due unto the world, but withal foresees the number of the elect, their inclination to hearty prayers and repentance, by which he knew the fierce wrath of God, whose representation the prophet saw[l], should be diverted from the world; that his stroke should be a little broken.

Out of such Fathers[m] as lived in the ages following, it is evident the calamities of these times had been such, as did threaten the world's end; many relics of that grievous disease, wherewith the world was sick almost unto death, remained until St. Cyprian's time. But as Jerusalem's plagues did prognosticate the storms of God's wrath which were shortly after to be showered upon the nations; so these castaway Jews prefigure the heathen's temper; of whom that saying of our Saviour holds as true, *They are like unto children sitting in the marketplace, and crying one to another, and saying, We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; we have mourned unto you, and ye have not wept*[n].

In our Saviour's time, God invited them with peace and plenty, which they foolishly attribute to their gods, or their own policy: after his death he threatens them with the former calamities, all which they falsely ascribe[o] (as the superstitious in like cases usually do) to the alteration of religion, and the decay of idolship.

Would God the temper of this present age were not much worse than either the Jews or Gentiles was; not such as did threaten the final destruction of the world, from which faith hath utterly perished! But of this argument, as far as befits Christian sobriety to inquire,

[l] Joel ii.

[m] Vide Cyprianum ad Demetrianum. [p. 150.]

[n] Luke vii. 32.

[o] Dixisti per nos fieri, et quod nobis debeant imputari omnia ista, quibus nunc mundus quatitur et urgetur, quod dii vestri a nobis non colantur. Cyprian. ad Demet. [p. 142.]

by God's assistance, in its proper place. Thus much in this place I have added, to persuade the reader, that for ought any man knows, or for any precedent sign can be expected, it may this night sound to judgment: watch we therefore, and pray continually, that we may be counted worthy to escape all these things that shall come to pass, and that we may stand before the Son of man.

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9. Thus much of the prophecies concerning Hierusalem's destruction, and the signs of those times. Ere we return to survey the Jews' estate since, it shall not be amiss to note, how upon the expiration of their interest in God's promises, confirmed unto their father Isaac, the seed of Ishmael began to enter upon the other moiety of his promise made to Abraham.

115 CHAP. XXV.

That the Saracens are the true Sons of Ishmael: of their Conditions and Manners, answerable to Moses' Prophecy.

1. THAT the sons of Isaac and Ishmael (for more than 3000 years after their father's death, in countries almost as many miles distant from their original seat, whither scarce any other Asiatics come) should kithe each other with as little scruple as if they were full cousin germans, to me hath seemed an argument, that the Lord had appointed both, for continual signs unto the nations: the more, whiles I consider with what difficulty of search, variety of conjectures, and uncertainty of resolution the best antiquaries amongst the natural inhabitants of those countries assign either their first planters there, or the regions whence they came.

2. But howsoever such as we call Saracens are best known to the modern Jews of Spain by the name of Ishmaelites; yet in these latter days (disposed to quarrel with former ages) some begin to suspect, others to contradict the common received opinion, as well concerning the Saracens' natural descent from Hagar and Ishmael, as their pretended original from Sarah, Abraham's lawful wife. Unto which bold assertion, or needless scruple, though utterly devoid of all ground, either of reason or authority, we are thus far beholden; it hath occasioned us to seek the ground of the contrary out of antiquity, as well secular as ecclesiastic: whose pregnant consonancy with the sacred oracles is pertinent to this present, necessary for subsequent discourse, in itself neither unpleasant, nor unprofitable to the judicious Christian reader.

3. Of Abraham's base-seed, some (in scripture) are denominate from their mother, known by the name of Hagarens; others from her son, their father, are called Ishmaelites[p]: some take their names from his sons, as Kedar, Duma, Naphish, Jetur[q], &c. Not any people in scripture (to my remembrance) take their name from Nebaioth his eldest son; which adds probability to their opinion[r] who think such as the heathen call Nabathæi were in scripture termed Ishmaelites, as sole heirs to their first progenitor's name: their seat was in the best part of Arabia Petræa, near unto the Midianites, as is probable from the story of Joseph; who in one place is said to be sold unto the Ishmaelites, in another to the Midianites, these being near neighbours, as it seems, and copartners in traffick. As the Nabathæans are not mentioned in scripture, so n ' the name of Ishmael in any ancient h 'm, I

[p] So these two are distinguished, 1 Chron. xxvii. 30, 31

[q] 1 Chron. v. 19.

think, being of Strabo his mind, who (book 16.) professeth, that he omits the ancient names of the Arabians, partly because in his time they were out of use, partly for the harshness of their pronunciation; unto which exception the name of Ishmael was most obnoxious.

4. The seat of such as the scripture calls Hagarens was in the desert Arabia, betwixt Gilead and Euphrates, as we may gather from 1 Chron. v. 9, 10. This people were called by the heathen, Ἀγραιοὶ, Agræi, (a name more consonant to their name in Hebrew, הגרי than the Latin Hagareni,) rightly placed by Ptolomy in
116 the desert Arabia, and by Strabo, (book 16, [p. 767.]) in that very place[s] which the scripture makes the eastern bounds of Ishmael's posterity; their metropolis or chief city in later times was Atra[t], or Atræ, and the inhabitants thereof Atreni, unless both Dion and Herodian either mistook, or have been mistaken to have written, Atreni for Agreni. But to omit the particular denomination of Ishmael's seed, they were best known to ancient heathens from the manner of their habitation in tents[u]: and Scenitæ Arabes was a name general, and, I think, equivalent to his race, unless perhaps the Midianites or Idumæans might share with them in this name, as they were partakers of their quality: which is not so to be appropriated unto either, as if they had neither house or town; for the tents of Kedar are most famous in scripture, yet saith the prophet, *Let the wil-*

[s] To wit, next unto the Chaulotæans or inhabitants of Havilah.

[t] This name, (Atreni,) it seems, was peculiar to the inhabitants of Atra, the chief city of the Agarenes, or Agræans, as Petræ was the metropolis of the Nabathæans: so that the Atreni and Agareni differ as the Petræni and Nabathæi.

[u] Cælius Augustinus Curio, in his Historia Saracenica, [l. i. initio,] speaks of a city called Scene, (perhaps it should be Scenæ,) in Arabia Deserta. And Strabo, in his 16th book, (of Casaubon's edit. [p. 748.],) tells of Scenæ: Διέχουσι δὲ τῆς Σελευκείας αἱ Σκηναὶ σχοίνους ὀκτωκαίδεκα.

derness and the cities thereof lift up their voice, the towns that Kedar doth inhabit, Isaiah xlii. 11. Nor did he mean as many tents as would make a town; for even in Moses' time they had their places of defence, as appears Gen. xxv. 16. *These be the sons of Ishmael, and these be their names, by their towns, and by their castles; twelve princes of their nation*, or rather twelve heads of so many several houses, tribes, or clans; which kind of regiment they continued, till four hundred years after Christ. And the heathen writers, both Greek and Latin, better express Moses' words in the forecited place נשיאם לאמתם than sundry modern interpreters do; who call them dukes or princes, being to the Grecians[x] φυλαρχοὶ Ἀράβων, to the Latins *Phylarchi Arabum*, or to the later writers *Saracenorum*, albeit some Latin writers[y] call them *Reguli Saracenorum*.

5. The proof of our intended conclusion depends upon these two premises; the first, that the Saraceni were the same people whom the ancients call the *Scenitæ Arabes*, as is expressly avouched by Ammianus Marcellinus in sundry places[z], and every one will acknowledge, that compares the ancient and later Romans[a]

[x] Strabo lib. 16. [p. 748.] in descript. Syriæ, et lib. 2. [p. 130.]

[y] Ammian. Marcell. lib. 23. [cap. 3.]

[z] Lib. 23 [cap. 6.]: Scenitæ Arabes quos Saracenos posteritas appellavit.

[a] Whom the ancient writers call Phylarchi Arabum, the later call Phylarchi Saracenorum, as appears by Sextus Rufus, and Jornandes. Montes Armeniæ, primum per Lucullum Romana arma viderunt; per quem et Osroene et Saracenorum Phylarchi devicti Romanis se dederunt. Jornandes [de regn. success.] lib. 1. So he calls them by anticipation, as in scripture places are ofttimes called by those names which are best known in the writer's time; not by the names which they bare in those ancient times of which they write. So likewise, Sextus Rufus in his breviary of the Roman story, speaking of the consuls' time, mentioneth the Saracens; albeit no mention is made of them or their Phylarchi, by any Roman that lived within 200 years of Pompey's conquests.

writing the same stories. The second, that the Scenitæ Arabes were the seed of Ishmael; which doth appear by the identity of their habitation, condition, and quality.

6. First, it is evident out of Pliny and Strabo[b], that the Scenitæ Arabes were seated eastward about the river Euphrates, noisome neighbours to Chaldæa and Mesopotamia; some part whereof in Strabo his time they inhabited: on the west part they bordered upon Egypt and Ethiopia: so Ammianus Marcellinus in his 22nd book, describing the situation of Egypt, saith, "It bordered on the east upon the cataracts of Nilus, and the Scenitæ Arabes, whom now we call
117 Saracens[c]." And in his 14th book, describing the situation of the Saracens, he makes Assyria their border on the East, and the confines of Blemyæ and the cataracts of Nilus on the west. And Moses, Genesis xxv, saith, the sons of Ishmael dwell from Shur, which is towards Egypt, unto Havilah, which is toward Ashur, in the way from Egypt thither. This land of Havilah, or (according to the orthography of the Hebrew) Chavilah, famous in scripture for gold, retained the same name in Strabo's time[d]; the inhabitants called by him Chaulotæans, next neighbours to the Hagarens, or Agræi, whose country Severus suspected to have had good store of gold.

7. [d]If Amm. Marcellinus had but known how fully

[b] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν τὰ ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν ἥτε εὐδαίμων Ἀραβία πᾶσα, ἀφοριζομένη τῷτε Ἀραβίῳ κόλπῳ παντὶ, καὶ τῷ Περσικῷ, καὶ ὅσην οἱ Σκηνίται καὶ οἱ Φυλαρχοὶ κατέχουσιν, οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην καθήκοντες, καὶ τὴν Συρίαν. Strabo l. 2. ed. Casaub. p. 130. Et lib. 16. [p. 749.] Syria Orientem versus terminatur Euphrate et Arabibus Scenitis.

[c] Egyptia gens, qua Orientem e regione prospicit, Elephantinam et Meroen urbes Æthiopum, et Cata-dupos rubrumque Pelagus et Scenitas prætenditur Arabas, quos Saracenos nunc appellamus. Amm. Marcell. lib. 22. [cap. 15.]

[d] Lib. 16. initio descript. Arabiæ. [p. 767.]

[d] The description of the Saracens' situation and conditions

Moses had prevented him in his observations of these Saracens, (gathered from his experience of their behaviour,) many hundred years before the Romans had heard of such a people; nay ere they themselves were any nation; it would perhaps have moved him to have thought better of Moses' writings, and worse of his master Julian for oppugning them. And if neither love, nor fear of God, or true religion, methinks natural civil modesty should enforce men to believe his report of things past, that can so clearly point out the nature of men many hundred years before they come into the world. For so we must esteem Moses' words of Ishmael and Hagar, though historically verified in their persons, yet withal a typical prophecy of their

out of Ammianus Marcellinus, in his 14th book, [cap. 4.] compared with Moses' characters of Ishmael, and his prophecy of his posterity, Gen. xxv. 18. and Gen. xvi. 6. and 12. Saraceni nec amici nobis unquam nec habendi [alii legunt, nec hostes optandi] ultro citroque discursantes, quicquid inveniri poterat, momento temporis parvi vastabant, milvorum rapaci vitæ similes; qui si prædam despexerint celsius, volatu rapiunt celeri, aut si impetrarint non immorantur. Super quorum moribus pauca expediam. Apud has gentes, quarum initium ab Assyriis ad Nili cataractas porrigitur et confinia Blemyarum, omnes pari sorte sunt bellatores, seminudi, coloratis sagulis pube tenus amicti, equorum adjumento pernicium, graciliumque camelorum per diversa reptantes in tranquillis vel turbidis rebus. Nec eorum quisquam aliquando stivam apprehendit, vel arborem colit, aut arva subigendo quæritat victum, sed errant semper per spatia longe lateque distenta, sine lare, sine sedibus fixis aut legibus, nec idem perferunt diutius cœlum, aut tractus unius soli illis unquam placet, vita est illis semper in fuga, uxoresque mercenariæ conductæ ad tempus ex pacto: atque ut sit species matrimonii, dotis nomine futura conjunx trætam vel hastam et tabernaculum offert marito, post statum diem si id elegerit discessura: incredibile est, quo ardore apud eos in Venerem uterque sexus solvitur. Ita autem quoad vixerint, late palantur, ut alibi mulier nubat, in loco pariat alio, liberosque procul educet, nulla copia quiescendi permissa. Victus universis caro ferina est, lactisque abundans copia, qua sustentantur, et herbæ multiplices, et si quæ alites capi per aucupium possunt. Et plerosque nos vidimus frumenti usum et vini penitus [illegible] Hactenus de nat[illegible]

posterity's conditions. And it is a demonstrative argument, that their wildness was foretold by his Spirit that only can command nature, and prescribe limits to the free thoughts of man, in that this progeny (throughout so many hundred generations) vary no more from their first progenitor's agrest and fierce qualities, than the wild plants of the forest, never accustomed to human culture, do from the trees whence they are propagate.

8. Ishmael, as Moses tells us, was begotten of Hagar, an Egyptian hireling: the matrimony of Saracen women in Ammianus his time was mercenary, and upon compact for a time[e]. Hagar conceived Ishmael in Abraham's house, but ready to bring him forth in the wilderness, whither he and she were sent again, after her return unto her mistress; the Saracen women of Ammianus his time marry in one place, bear children in another, and bring them up in a third far distant; never permitted to live in rest: and in show of matrimony, they bring a spear and a tent for their dowry, being indeed a perfect emblem of their mercenary roving life: for these they may by covenant take with them at the end of their service, and be packing from their masters to seek their food in the wilderness, as their mother Hagar taught them. Who would think,
118 but that it were more likely one should die rather of hunger than thirst in the wilderness? Or who could imagine that Abraham (unless directed by some secret instinct, presaging that rude and sharking life, whereunto this wild slip's progeny was ordained) could suffer Ishmael and Hagar to go to the wilderness out of his house, which God had blessed with all manner of store, only furnished with a little bread and a bottle of water, so quickly spent, that the child had almost died for

[e] See the last note, out of Am. Marc.

thirst, before God did provide him more. This did portend, that his posterity should be pinched with like penury, scant of water, (their best drink,) straitening their territories (as Strabo tells us[g]) in Arabia; and after they had enlarged the bounds which Moses set them, even in Mesopotamia itself[h], they are confined to dry and barren places; nor could the prophet[i] better express the future barrenness of Babylon, and the regions about, than by intimating it such, as the sons of desolation, which sought their food out of flint, should not be able to inhabit. That water, many years after Strabo's time, was the Scenite Arabian's best or only drink, appears from Pescennius Niger's reply unto his soldiers,[k] pretending lack of wine as cause of their lack of courage, or faint service; "You may be ashamed," saith he, "of this excuse, whereas they that foil you are but water-drinkers." And Ammianus saith, he knew very many of them in his time, that neither knew use of wine nor corn. Moses describing the manner of Ishmael's life, said he was *an archer in the wilderness*. None of the Saracens, if we may believe

g Τὰ δ' ἐξῆς τῆς Μεσοποταμίας μέχρι Κοίλης Συρίας, τὸ μὲν πλησιάζον τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, Σκηνῖται κατέχουσιν Ἄραβες, δυναστείας ἀποτετμημένοι μικρὰς ἐν λυπροῖς χωρίοις διὰ τὰς ἀνυδρίας. Strabo lib. 16. p. 765.

h Τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν κεκλιμένα τῆς Μεσοποταμίας, καὶ ἀποτέρω τῶν ὀρῶν ἄνυδρα καὶ λυπρὰ ὄντα ἔχουσιν οἱ Σκηνῖται Ἄραβες, λῃστρικοί τινες καὶ ποιμενικοὶ μεθιστάμενοι ῥαδίως εἰς ἄλλους τόπους, ὅταν [ἐπιλείπωσιν] αἱ νομαὶ καὶ αἱ λεηλασίαι. Idem, p. 747.

i Isaiah xiii. 20. From which place we may gather that such as the ancient writers of sacred story would have termed Hagarens or Ishmaelites, were called by later, Arabians: nor is it usual after Jehoshaphat's time (if at all) to mention the Ishmaelites or Hagarens; the name of the Arabians being then equivalent to the Ishmaelite, if we take them generally, as may be gathered likewise from Josephus in sundry places; amongst others, from his 13th [aliis c. 12. p. 36.] chapter of his first book of Antiquities.

k Tumultuantibus iis qui a Saracenis victi fuerunt, et dicentibus, Vinum non cepimus; Erubescite, inquit, illi qui vos vincunt aquam bibunt. Vide ælium Spartian. in Pescennio Nigro.

Ammianus, did ever set his hand to the plough, but got their living for the most part by their bow[1]. For as were they, such was their meat, wild flesh or venison, herbs or milk, or such wild fowls as the wilderness did afford, and they could catch. For their own wildness he compares them to kites, ready to spy a prey, but so untame withal, that they would not stay by it, as crows or other ravenous birds do by carrion, but presently fled with what they caught unto their nests. So notoriously was their wildness incorporated into their nature, that the more tame they grew, the less right they seemed to have unto their names, as Strabo intimates.

9. Yet did they not more fully resemble Ishmael and Hagar's conditions, than preposterously imitate Abraham's rites or religion. Their father Ishmael was about thirteen years old when God established his covenant with Abraham; and for this reason not circumcised until that age[m]: the Saracens till this day circumcise not their children before that time[n]; when as they might with as good reason defer it till about
119 the hundredth year of their age, because Abraham was thereabouts when he first received this seal of God's covenant. Abraham erected altars, and Jacob anointed

1 The Saracens have been famous for their artillery throughout all their generations.

m Isaacum octavo mox die circumcidunt, qui mos adhuc Judæis durat, ut post totidem dies circumcisionem celebrent——. Arabes vero post decimum tertium annum id faciunt. Ishmael enim generis eorum autor, Abrahamo e concubina natus, post tantum temporis est circumcisus. Josephus Antiq. l. 1. c. 12. et 13. This custom was continued by the Saracens of Spain and Afric.

n Lud. Vives, de Verit. Fid. l. 4. c. 12. says, the Saracens circumcise their children at 14 years old. The Turks, I know not whether upon ignorance of Ishmael's age, at the time of his circumcision, or upon other occasions, (perhaps mistaking years for days,) circumcise their children at eight years old. Philip. Lonicer. tom. 1. l. 2. part. 2. cap. 24.

the stone, in the place where God had appeared to him: the Saracens from these or like traditions celebrate their sacrifices unto a stone with apish and childish solemnities[o]. God commanded Moses (ignorant belike of that religious and decent custom which his forefathers in like cases used) to put off his shoes, when he was to tread on holy ground; which rite was afterwards observed by the Jews in their more solemn vows, and the [p]Saracens to this day have their *nudipedalia sacrificia.* Abraham, if we may believe Josephus[q], from his sober contemplation of the heaven and stars, began to detest the idolatry of the heathen, and to adore that Divine providence, by which these supposed gods were guided: the Saracens falling back to heathenism, adore Lucifer or the morning star; and from their forefathers no doubt the Israelites learned this idolatry in the wilderness. And as I should conjecture their habitation in tents, and wandering life was not continued, throughout so many generations, so much upon necessity, as in imitation of Abraham's using tents, necessary in that time for him that would jour-

[o] Saracenis autem (quandoquidem et ipsi de ea re aliquid dicere velle videntur) sufficiat ad confusionem quod in eremo lapidi inanimato sacrificia faciant, acclamentque hanc vocem Chobar, quod a partibus acceptum per puerilia mysteria et festa peragant. Synodus Nicena secunda. Actione quarta in Epist. Germani Episc. ad Thom. Episc. Claudiopolios. [Concil. ed. Hard. t. 4. p. 247. D.] The Jews and Saracens had objected worshipping of images to the Christians of that age, and this synod useth this apology better beseeming a scolding butter queen than such as should be reverend fathers; their testimonies notwithstanding we may admit without prejudice to that controversy betwixt us and them.

[p] Nunc quoque Mauri et Saraceni, ejusmodique genus hominum, templa, in quibus sacra facturi sunt, non ingrediuntur nisi calceis depositis. Gyraldus de Symb. Pythag.

[q] Joseph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 8. [aliis c. 7.] Vide Hieron. in vita Hilarionis. Et Riberam in quint. Amos. numero 72. Of the occasions of these Saracens' idolatry, and preposterous imitation of the patriarchs, vide Sozomen. lib. 6. c. 38.

ney throughout so many countries as he was enforced to do.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Beginning and Progress of Ishmael's Greatness.

1. THE chief strength of Ishmael's sons in ancient time did consist in artillery, as we may gather from the prophet, Isaiah xxi. 16. *Yet a year, according to the years of an hireling, and all the glory of Kedar shall fail: and the residue of the number of the strong archers of the sons of Kedar shall be few: for the Lord God of Israel hath spoken it.* Though the plague here threatened by the Assyrians did overtake them; yet, as St. Jerome notes, they escaped the rod of God's wrath better than most of their neighbours, by reason of their speedy removal from place to place, most of them such as were never out of their dwelling, whilst they had tents, and camels, and wastes to range in. Afterwards they continued troublesome neighbours unto Syria, until it was annexed to the Roman empire[r], by whose valour the strength of their archers was again diminished, and the reign of their Phylarchi cut short. But their country first brought into the form of a province by Trajan, in whose time the Hagarens (so soon are they weary of civil subjection) begun to revolt, and for aught I find were never brought again to perform perfect obedience unto the Roman or any other people.

2. Their city, saith Dion[s], was neither great nor rich, yet had it Zoar's privilege: he that preserved the one from the storms of fire and brimstone, which devoured far greater neighbour cities, did guard the other against the violence of two most potent emperors, who had overrun the mightiest kingdoms of

[r] Strabo, lib. 16. [s] Lege Histor. apud Dion. l. 68. [cap. 31.]

the earth. The heathen thought the sun, to whom their city was consecrated, did protect it. But can they shew us any prophecy of old, given by Phœbus for this people's good? we can shew them the express promise of Abraham's God, more than two thousand years before, for making them and their brethren a mighty nation. Let the atheist judge, whether their God's arm was shortened, or whether his miracles, which the scripture tells us were wrought for the sons of the free woman, whilst they followed their father's steps, can seem incredible, being compared with the wonderful deliverance of the Agarens, the sons of the bondwoman, from Trajan and Severus, both besieging them in person. The soil about their city was barren, and when Trajan besieged it, very hot; so that the violence of the siege could not be long. These signs the politicians could assign of Trajan's ill success. But whence was it, that as oft as the city was assaulted, the soldiers were annoyed with lightnings, thunders, whirlwinds, and hail? affrighted or dazzled with the apparition of rainbows? whence was it that flies should corrupt and spoil their meat, whilst they did eat it? By these and the like means, wonderful in the heathens' sight, was Trajan forced to give over the siege, which he had followed, not without great danger of his life, by coming within these strong archers' shot in viewing the city, shortly after (as if he had fought before with men, but now against God) falling into a disease, whereof he died.

3. About eighty years after[t], the emperor Severus, disdaining (as Trajan had done) that these Hagarens should stand out still against the Romans, when all the rest about them had yielded, being repulsed with loss of men and munition, made great preparation for the second assault, in which, (after great loss of his sol-

[t] See Dion. lib. 75. [cap. 10.] where he calls them Atreni.

diers,) having overthrown part of the city wall, he caused the retreat to be sounded in policy, hoping the besieged would have come to entreat for peace and liberty, which he was not minded to grant, but upon condition they would bewray the hidden treasure supposed to be consecrated to the sun. But they continued resolute a whole day, giving no intimation of any treaty for peace. The soldiers in the mean time were so discontented, that on the morrow following, the Europeans, before most resolute, would not enter at the breach: and the Syrians, enforced to undertake the service, had a grievous repulse. "So," saith Dion[u], "God delivered the city, recalling the soldiers by Severus, when they might have entered, and restraining Severus the second day by the soldiers' backwardness." The conquest after this breach was in martial esteem so easy, that one of his captains confidently undertook to effect it, without the hazard of any other man's life besides, so he might have but 550 European soldiers assigned him. To which fair proffer the emperor, (as pettish as they had been peevish,) in a distracted chafe replied: "But where shall I find so many soldiers?" and so departed into Palestina. Thus are the proud assaults of greatest monarchs, in their height of strength, but like the billows of a swelling tide, which break over the banks, and immediately fall again; *the Almighty hath set bounds to both, which they must not pass;* and under his protection may Ishmael rest, as se-
121 cure from the Roman forces, to whom he had given all the regions round about them, as Edom did from the Israelites, when they slew mighty kings, and cast out far greater neighbour nations. It is probable that these Hagarens, after their good success against Trajan and Severus, did propagate their name to all the sons

[u] Lib. 75. [cap. 12.]

of Ishmael; as whole nations in like cases take new denominations from the ringleaders unto revolt. Sozomen[u] and St. Hierom[v], both living shortly after this people was generally known by the name of Saracens, avouch without question, (what they could have given reason for, had they foreseen posterity's incredulity,) they usurped the name of Sarah, in hope to extinguish that note of bastardy, imported in their former name of Hagarens: as great men's bastards, in few descents, will attempt the changing of their ignominious coat. And in all ecclesiastical writers, the names of Saracens or Hagarens are used promiscuously as equivalent; which argues that the name of Hagarens had sometimes been common to all the race of Ishmael, not appropriate to the Agræi, or such as the scripture calls Hagarites.

4. It is evident out of Ammianus, that the name of Saracens was not ancient. The first certain mention of it is in Ptolemy; who describes a region called Saracene in the west part of Ishmael's territories, as they are described by Moses, and a people called Saraceni, in the wealthy Arabia, near unto the mountains, which the Scenitæ inhabit. Whether the fertility of the soil might make them scorn their former name, as it would cause them loathe their ancient seat; or whether given or taken upon other occasions; the whole progeny, as well in the desert Arabia as elsewhere, was willing to make the benefit of it, as an argument to persuade the world they were free-born, and true heirs of that promise whence the Jews were fallen. For Mahomet, as all writers agree, used this plausible etymology as a fair colour to countenance his foul blasphemies: and a grave relater of truth[w], not accustomed to make speeches

[u] Lib. 6. cap. 38.
[v] Comment. in 21 Isa. et 25 Ezech.
[w] Ibi ab Saracenis cœpta est

for dead men to utter, brings in the latter Saracens in the siege of Torutum, (which was a mile from Tyre,) using their name derived from Sarah as an argument to persuade their true descent from Abraham, for whose sake they hoped for favour at Christians' hands. But they could not so easily change their nature as their name; the greater they grow in might, the more exactly they fulfil that prophecy of Ishmael; *And he shall be a wild man, his hand shall be against every man, and every man's hand against him.* For a long time they continued, like forward, but poor gamesters, not able to set at more than one at once, and that for no great stake, without some to bear their part; until at length, by their treacherous shuffling from side to side, and banding sometimes with one, sometimes another against some third, they grew so flush, that they durst set at all, and take Asia, Europe, and Afric to task at once.

5. Sometimes they took part with Mithridate, and other eastern nations, against Lucullus and Pompey, and yet ready to join with Pompey against the Jews. Some of them again were for the Parthians against the Romans, others for the Romans against the Parthians, some now for the one, then for the other, as Alchaudonius and Augarus[x] before mentioned. Some again for Pescennius Niger against Severus, others against Pescennius, afterwards one while for the Persian, and
122 another while for the Romans, as in the times of Constantius and Julianus. The latter of whom they reve-

oratio, quæ commiserationem, efflagitaret. Communem esse Deum quem utrique colerent, ritum diversum. Illis Abraham esse generis principium, quod a Sara geniti Saraceni dicantur, fratres esse, communi præditos humanitate, sub uno patre Deo, humanarum rerum varietate jam se victos sæpe ante victores. Krantzius Saxon. l. 7. c. 12.

[x] Osroenus Dioni, aliis Arabs, quanquam et Osroeni Arabes origine, Mesopotamiæ incolæ.

renced most of any Roman[y]; and yet at length, not satisfied in their expectations, revolting from him[z]. Afterwards they serve under the Romans against the Goths[a]: and yet while the Goths and other barbarous people clasp with the Roman eagle in the west, these foul harpies pluck off her train in the east; and not therewith content, take their flight toward the west, to snatch the meat out of the other buzzard's mouth, and beat them one after another from the prey which they had seized on in Spain and Afric; attempting the like in France, Greece, and Germany; displuming the breasts, and ofttimes ready to devour the very heart, even Italy and Rome itself.

6. Finally, as Ishmael began first to give proof of his might, when Isaac's strength began to fail, so can we scarce name any place where Isaac's seed have been scattered, whither the dread of Ishmael's hath not followed them: that such Christians, as would not suffer the miserable estate of the one to sink into their souls, nor learn to fear God's judgments shewed upon them, might apprehend the other, as present executioners of like woe and vengeance upon themselves. It is well observed by the author of the tripartite work, Touching the Sacred War, (annexed to the council of Lateran,) that the persecution of Christians by the Sara-

y Cum armigera gradiens manu in statione quadam sub pellibus mansit, ubi Saracenorum reguli gentium genibus supplices nixi, oblata ex auro corona, tanquam mundi nationumque suarum Dominum adorarunt, susceptique gratanter ut ad furta bellorum adpositi. Ammian. Marcell. l. 23. [c. 3.]

z Hos Saracenos ideo patiebamur infestos, quod salaria muneraque plurima a Juliano ad similitudinem præteriti temporis accipere vetiti, questique apud eum, solum audierant imperatorem bellicosum et vigilantem, ferrum habere non Aurum. Ammian. lib. 25. [c. 6.]

a A naked Saracen issuing from his own company, set upon a body of Goths, slew one, set his mouth to the wound, and sucked the blood. So saith Ammian. Marcel. in the end of his last book.

cen, hath been every way greater and more grievous without interruption than all the persecutions under the Roman emperors, or any foreign enemies. These provocations by this foolish nation witness the truth of God's threatenings to the ancient Jews, and that our pride of heart hath been like theirs: for the assuaging whereof his pleasure hath been, to bring the most wicked of the heathen to possess our houses, and to defile the holy places. According to their judgment hath he judged the most part of Christendom. Such servility as the Jews suffered under the Greeks and Asiatics, have they endured under the Saracen and the Turk, who is but a proselyte of Ishmael, and heir by adoption of that promise, Gen. xvii. 20, *I will multiply him exceedingly, and I will make a great nation of him.* Besides his participation with him in the covenant of circumcision, (the best pledge and ground of Ishmael's greatness,) the manners and conditions of the Turks and Saracens have great affinity; the Turk also is a wild man, yea this is the signification of his name (as Chalcocondylas and Lonicer expound it[b]). But though both Turks and Saracens, by Christians' continuance in their fathers' sins, have been perpetual scourges of Christendom; yet hath God at sundry times given us manifest signs of help laid up in store, so that we would turn to him with our whole hearts. The strange and almost incredible, though most undoubted victories, which Christians sometimes had over them, do lively represent the miraculous victories of the Jews over the heathen, related in scriptures. To omit others, it might be remembered as an

[b] Uterque in limine suæ historiæ. Arabs likewise is as much as homo agrestis, or incultus. And Arabia, as much as terra agrestis et inculta: in which all things grow promiscuously. And if I mistake not, only the desolate barren parts of that country, which we call Arabia, is so called in sacred story.

irrefragable witness as well of the multitude of God's mercies towards us, as of Ishmael's posterity, that three hundred and eighty thousand of them should be slain 123
all in one day by one Christian general[c]. Unless the Lord had raised us up a Gedeon then, he only knows how quickly these parts of Christendom might have been rebaptized in their blood, and borne the name of Saracens ever after. And, as a German writer well observes, the French kings might well brook that title of *Christianissimi*, from that admirable exploit of Carolus Martellus, the next means under God's providence that other parts of Europe had not Saracen tyrants instead of Christian princes. Of such particular experiments, as the histories of Turks and Saracens afford, answerable to the prophecies in scripture concerning them, we shall have fitter occasion to speak hereafter.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Persecutions of the Jews by Trajan, and the Desolation of their Country by Adrian: their Scattering through other Nations, foretold by Moses.

1. THOUGH the greatness of the Jews' former plagues under Vespasian had made their number less in their own land; yet Egypt, Cyrene, and Cyprus, had too many of those snakes within their bowels, until their deadly stings, provoking others, did procure their own destruction. In the latter end of Trajan's reign, the manner of their outrageous massacres, practised upon both Greeks and Romans[d] in the foremen-

[c] See Crantzius Hist. Sueciæ. lib. 4. cap. ult. and French Hist. Serres [A. D. 730.] and the Latin Hist. of France. And Nauclerus 2. vol. Generation. 25. Cælius Aug. Curio Historia Saracenica. lib. 2.

[d] The Jews did eat their flesh; besmeared themselves with their blood; wore their skins; sawed them asunder; cast them to beasts; made them kill one another, &c. Dion. l. 68. in fine.

tioned countries, was as heinous as the facts themselves; though these heinous beyond all credence, if not related by most credible and most unpartial writers. Besides the particular butcheries which they committed throughout Egypt, about Cyrene these Jews did slay two hundred thousand, and in Cyprus two hundred and fifty thousand. The Lord, no doubt, had smitten them, as he had threatened, Deut. xxviii. 28, with this *madness and blindness of heart*, that they might hereby provoke this puissant emperor's indignation; which otherwise would have slept, but now pursues them throughout his dominions, not as enemies, or rebels of the empire, but as noxious creatures to human society, with revenge suiting to their former outrages. Partly for the Cyprians' better security in time to come, partly in memory of their former misery, and these Jews' infamy [e]; it is publicly enacted, that no Jew, though driven by tempest thither, should presume to set foot within their coast, upon pain of present execution, as already condemned by his very appearance on that soil, which had been tainted with the deadly venom of his countrymen.

2. But lest posterity, little respective of Jewish affairs, (through negligence of the Roman writers,) should forget, or, from the inconsiderate frailty of human nature, less observe these two most grievous persecutions of the Jews than was behoveful for testification of Moses' or Christ's prophecies, and confirmation of Christian faith; in Adrian's time (like traitors that had fainted upon the rack before their full confession taken) they are recovered to greater torture. And lest
124 the nations in that or ages following, should not acknowledge them to have been such a mighty people as the sacred story makes them, they are made a spectacle

[e] Dion. ibid.

to the world again, to shew their natural strength by their grievous lingering pains in dying. This was that which Moses had said, Deut. xxviii. 59; *The Lord will make thy plagues wonderful, and the plagues of thy seed, great plagues, and of long continuance, sore diseases, and of long durance.* Yet their destruction now, as at both times (always) before, was from their own procurement. For Adrian, causing new Ælia, built by him where Hierusalem stood, to be inhabited by others, Christians as well as Jews, and permitting the use of their country-religion to all; the Jews began first to repine while Adrian was near, afterwards to mutiny upon his departure out of these eastern provinces.

3. The fresh memory of their former desolation made their strength seem little, and the apprehension of their weakness made the Romans' care for preventing new dangers less than otherwise it might, and in reason should have been. But as men environed with darkness have great advantage of such as stand in the light; and presumption of good-casting in the beginning brings such as intend the aftergame well, to better possibility of winning the stake: so these Jews, partly through the Romans' confidence of their strength, partly by their own secresy in meeting, security of harbour in caves and dens purposely digged in the earth, and diligent providing necessaries for war; from little and contemptible beginnings gather such strength and resolution, that they can be content to set the whole stock upon it, offering battle unto the choicest warriors of the empire, to Julius Severus[f] that noble general himself, called to this service (such was the

[f] Hadrianus optimos quosque duces adversum eos mittit, quorum primus fuit Julius Severus qui ex Britannia cui præerat, contra Judæos missus est &c. Dion. Hist. Rom. l. 69. [c. 13.]

danger) out of this island of Britain. And albeit the Romans in the end had the victory without controversy, yet would they not have wished many triumphs at the same price[g]. This people's last conflict with death and destruction, now seizing upon them, may witness to the world that they had been a principal part of it, now so generally and deeply affected with their last pangs. For as this judicious and unpartial writer saith, "the whole world, in a manner, was shaken with this commotion of the Jews." Dion, 69th book.

4. But as the preacher observeth, that *riches are oftentimes reserved to the owners for their evil;* so these Jews' extraordinary strength was given them for like destruction. The greater danger their mutiny had occasioned to the empire, the greater was the emperor's severity in punishing their rebellion past, the greater his care to prevent the like in time to come. In battles and skirmishes were slain of this people 580,000, besides an infinite number, consumed with famine and diseases, during the time of this lingering war, protracted of purpose by the Romans, not willing to try it out in open field with such a forlorn, desperate multitude. Now as Moses had expressly foretold[h], and Dion[i] (living not long after this time) emphatically

[g] Periere quoque ex Romanis complures in eo bello. Quamobrem Hadrianus, cum scriberet ad Senarum, non est usus illo exordio, quo uti imperatores consueverunt: si vos liberique vestri valetis, bene est; ego quidem et exercitus valemus. Dion. ibidem. [c. 14.]

[h] Deut. xxviii. 62.

[i] Julius Severus nulla ex parte ausus est aperte cum hostibus congredi, multitudine ipsorum atque desperatione cognita, sed eos singulatim militum legatorumque numero aliquo adoriens, et commeatum prohibens atque includens, serius quidem, sed minore cum periculo, et adterere et exhaurire, et exscindere potuit, ut pauci admodum evaserint, et quinquaginta eorum arces munitissimæ, vicique celeberrimi atque nobilissimi nongenti octoginta quinque funditus eversi sint. Cæsa sunt in excursionibus prælliisque hominum quingenta octoginta millia: eo-

notes, they were left few in number, their land laid waste, fifty of their strongest munitions utterly razed, 985 of their chief and most populous towns sacked and consumed by fire.

5. This mighty destruction of these Jews, and general desolation of their country by Romans, and their tributaries of these western countries[k], a people strange and perhaps unheard of to their ancestors, are everlasting monuments of the truth of Moses his prophecy, Deut. xxviii. 49—52; *The Lord shall bring a nation upon thee from far, even from the end of the world, flying swift as an eagle; a nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand; a nation of a fierce countenance, which will not regard the person of the old, nor have compassion of the young: the same shall eat the fruit of thy cattle, and the fruit of thy land, until thou be destroyed: and he shall leave thee neither wheat, wine, or oil, neither the increase of thy kine, nor the flocks of thy sheep, until he have brought thee to nought. And he shall besiege thee in all thy cities, until thy high and strong walls fall down, wherein thou trustest, in all the land: and he shall besiege thee in all thy cities throughout thy land, which the Lord thy God hath given thee.* Thus at length Judah as well as Israel, hath ceased to be a nation not without manifest signs[l] foreshewing their fatal expiration. Solomon's sepulchre, which they

rum autem qui fame, morbo, et igni interierunt, indagari multitudo non potuit, ita ut omnis pene Judæa deserta relicta fuerit. Dion. Hist. Rom. lib. 69. [c. 13 et 14.]

[k] Adrian and Trajan were both Spaniards by birth, Julius Severus was called to their destruction out of this island, wherein Vespasian had given best proof of his good services. Their ensigns (being eagles) were as emblems of their swiftness to execute God's wrath upon this people: and Moses in this place, by Divine inspiration, alludes unto the Roman eagles.

[l] Signs foreshewing Jewry's desolation by Adrian, recorded by Dion l. 69. [c. 14.] and others.

held in greatest honour, a little before this war, did fall asunder of its own accord; as if it would have signified unto them, that God's covenant, made with Solomon for Judah's peace and restauration, was now utterly void, and finally cancelled by its rupture and fall. Wolves and hyænas did howl throughout their streets, and devour this people in the fields: these are the Lord's messengers of woe and vengeance to this ungracious seed, whose fathers had killed and stoned his prophets, sent unto them for their good. Yet is not the wrath of the Lord ceased, but his hand is stretched out against them still. For Adrian[m], after this strange desolation, by public decree ratified with the senate's consent, prohibits any Jew to come within the view of Jewry. This he did only in a politic respect, lest the sight of their native soil might inspire this people with some fresh desperate resolutions, but herein made, though unwittingly, God's angel to keep, by his powerful sword, this wicked progeny of those rebellious and ungracious husbandmen, that had killed their Lord's first-born, out of that paradise which he had set them to dress and keep. The same mighty Lord, having now (as it were) disparked the place which he had walled and fenced about, and graced with many charters of greatest privileges, doth by his arm stretched out against them still, scatter the relics of this rascal herd throughout all the nations under heaven. So as this remnant (left by Adrian) and their race, have been as the game, which God's judgments have held in perpetual chace for this fifteen hundred years.

6. Thus are God's judgments executed upon this people; according to the order and course of Moses

[m] Jornandes de Regn. succes. (in octa.) p. 103. Euseb. l. 4. c. 6. ex Aristone Pella

his sentence, pronounced against them almost two thousand years before. For after he had foretold that paucity, whereunto this last war had brought them, Deut. xxviii. 62, he adds immediately, verse 63, *As the Lord hath rejoiced over you to do you good, and to multiply you; so he will rejoice over you to destroy, and bring you to nought; and ye shall be rooted out of the land whither thou goest to possess it. And the* 126 *Lord shall scatter thee amongst all people, from the one end of the world to the other.* Such as were captivate in this war were transplanted by Adrian into Spain, his native country[n]; where they had their synagogues since his, until Ferdinando and Isabel's time. Of their ill rest there, and in other of these western nations, (foretold by Moses in the very next words,) we are now to treat: but first to advertise the reader, that the state of these Jews[o], from this time until the expiration of the Roman empire, cannot easily be gathered from any Roman writers; who seldom vouchsafe the Jews or Christians any mention, unless enforced thereunto by some such famous war or mutiny, as fell out in Vespasian's, Trajan's, or Adrian's time; or by some

[n] Quos vero Hadrianus in eo bello Judæos cepit, in Hispaniam exulatum misit, (hæc fuit decima eorum captivitas,) porro ex eo tempore, ad fœlicissima usque tempora catholicorum regum Ferdinandi et Isabellæ, atque etiam Emanuelis invicti Portugalliæ regis publicæ in Hispania Judæorum Synagogæ fuere Jo. Vasæus, Chron. Hispan. An. Christi 137. vide Pet. Ant. Beuter. l. 10. c. 19.

[o] So the continuer of the history of the sacred war complains. Nulli mirum erat, nos rerum per Judæam gestarum notitia omanorum tum in Judæos tum in Christianos invidiam, quorum quidem tempore, et devotionem et pietatem, superstitiosam quandam persuasionem credebant. Nulla igitur eorum ratione habita, nec mentionem de his habere dignati sunt. Adde quod qui Syriæ præfectus erat, hanc quoque viribus, opibus, armis, militibus exutam, regebat. Cumque Christiana res pace quam bello magis accresceret, tumultu nunquam inclaruit Judæa, neminem imperatorum seditione nobilitavit. Basil. Johan. Herold. lib. 1. cap. 15. [c. 9.] de Contin. Bell. Sacri.

other event redounding to the Romans' glory; whereas Jewry, after this time, was not famous for any tumult, till Rome's captivity; the Jews wanted strength, and Christians willing minds, to erect any emperor's praise by their seditions. So that whatsoever calamity either of them suffered by the Romans, was passed over by Roman writers as private wrongs, not worthy of registering in their annals.

Why Roman writers make no mention of our Saviour Christ or his acts.

7. No marvel then if they took no notice of our Saviour, or his acts, all tending to peace and loyalty. For as Tacitus notes[p], Judæa was most quiet in Tiberius' time; which was the best news the Romans cared to hear thence: only Tacitus' spleen to Christians (it seems) had made him inquisitive of their first original, whose author he acknowledgeth to have been one Christ, put to death by Pontius Pilate, in the reign of Tiberius.

8. The estate of these Jews in general, between Adrian's and Honorius' time, may be gathered out of the reverend Fathers of the primitive church; who usually stopped the heathens' or blasphemous atheists' mouths, by proposing their condition, then known unto all the world, for such as our Saviour had foretold. But these reverend Fathers' observations, and such scattered testimonies of their estate and quality, as can be gathered out of Roman writers, during that flourishing age of Fathers, and continuance of the Roman empire, will come in more fitly in the article of our Saviour's passion.

[p] Tacit. lib. 5. Histor. Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos, et quæsitissimis pœnis affecit, quos per flagitia invisos, vulgus Christianos appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus Christus, qui, Tiberio imperante, per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat. Tacit. Annal. lib. 15.

CHAP. XXVIII. 127

Of the Jews' Estate after the Dissolution of the Roman Empire, generally throughout Europe, until their coming into England.

1. AFTER the dissolution of the Roman empire, they had some hopes of taking root under the shelter of Theodebert and Theodoric[q], kings of a great part of France, and other provinces then annexed to that kingdom. And whilst the bishops of those countries made merchandise of sacred orders, these Jews purchased Christians for their bond slaves; until Gregory the Great, by his fatherly admonitions and reproof, wrought a reformation of these two foul enormities, and open scandals of Christianity. Their number after was much increased throughout most parts in France, by their sudden decrease in Spain, caused by Sisebodus king of the Goths, and lord of that country[r]; who had urged them to profession of Christian religion, or perpetual exile from his dominions. Such as made choice of banishment, before baptism, fled in troops into France: where in short time they and their countrymen, there residing before, had as hard entertainment under Dagobert, though peaceably admitted at the first. [s]Some think the fame and honour which the Goth had purchased amongst Christians by his late fact, did enflame the Frank with a zealous desire of like glory: others from more particular information of ancient writers,

[q] Tunc temporis, Galliarum episcopi, sacros ordines non nisi pretio et quæstu conferebant; uti ne hodie quidem faciunt: et Judæi, genus hominum cœlo quoque ipsi invisum, Christiana mancipia possidebant, Gregorio utcunque non placebat, &c. Papyrius Masson. lib. 1. annal. Francorum, p. 63.

[r] Vide Crantzium, lib. 4. Sueciæ, c. 33.

[s] Paul. Æmil. in Dagoberto.

as well French[t] as Spanish[u], refer the original of both persecutions unto Heraclius the emperor; who seeking his fates in the stars, pulls down God's judgments from heaven upon these Jews, scattered from the east to west. By this means, he had learned (whether by mere skill in astrology, or otherwise, is not now to be disputed) that the wings of his empire should be clipped by a circumcised people. This foreknowledge, howsoever gotten, was not given him for his good, (for his fears came upon him whence he least suspected,) but for these Jews' mischief: for he, deeming them the likeliest, or the only men, that could bring his fates upon him, inserts the former persecution as a condition of peace, then concluded between him and Sisebutus; afterwards prevails with Dagobert, for enforcing all the Jews throughout his dominions, either to renounce circumcision, France, or their lives. And no doubt but he, that could prevail thus far with these western kings, did also deal effectually with other sovereignties of Europe nearer unto his imperial seat, for disenabling of this nation from effecting what he feared: much more would he seek their extirpation or conversion throughout his own proper dominions. And so I

[t] Heraclius cum literis abunde esset instructus, ad ultimum astrologus efficitur: agnoscens itaque insignis siderum, imperium suum a circumcisa gente vastandum, et autumans id de Judæis fuisse præmonstratum, per internuntios Dagobertum rogavit, regem Francorum, ut cunctos Judaicæ stirpis qui in provinciis illi subjectis manebant, Christianos fieri præciperet, eos vero qui nollent aut exilio aut morte damnari. Quod Dagobertus volens effecit, omnes qui noluerint baptisma suscipere, procul a finibus eliminans Franciæ. Porro Heraclio non de Judæis, sed de Saracenis fuerat præostensum. Aimoinus sive Annonius, lib. 4. cap. 22.

[u] Vide Hispan. histor. Fran. Taraphæ, (bound up with Vasæus,) &c. in Sisebuto. I suppose Sisebodus in Crantzius, and Sisebutus in Tarapha, and Vasæus, are the same. As also that Egica a succeeding king, or Egican, in Vasæus, and Egyta in Tarapha, be the same.

find his persecution of the Jews recorded, by such as wrote 128
his life[x], as one of the chief memorables in his reign: which confirms their report, though otherwise authentic, who refer the two former persecutions, under the Goth and Frank, unto the occasions above mentioned.

2. Shortly after, the progeny of such as had been enforced to baptism by Sisebutus[y], for their revolt from Christ, and conspiracy against Egica (his anointed) and his kingdom, were adjudged to perpetual servitude, throughout all the provinces belonging to Spain: prohibited the use of their rites and ceremonies, not permitted to inhabit together; but, as if the Lord had used the land of Jewry as a marl-pit, to fat the soil of this nation where his vine was planted, after he had led forth the Jews thither in heaps, he scatters their heaps over the whole surface of the land. All parents not suffered to commerce with their children at all, after the seventh year of their age, committed by public decree to the education of Christians, appointed in riper years to be given in marriage unto their sons and daughters; that so the succession of infidelity might

[x] Judæos etiam invitos ad baptismum compulit Matheseos studiis operam dedit, haruspiciis et præstigiis dæmonum fidem adhibuit, Append. Aur. Victoris.

[y] Hoc tempore Judæi perfidi non solum tunicam sacri baptismatis, quam susceperant, maculârunt: sed etiam contra regem regnumque conspirare ausi sunt, in quos hæc pœna statuta, ut omnibus suis rebus nudati, tam ipsi perfidi, quam uxores eorum et filii, ac reliqua posteritas per cunctas Hispaniarum provincias, servituti subjacerent perpetuæ, manerentque usquequaque dispersi. Præterea quicunque eosdem Judæos, in servitutem reciperent, in nullo eos permitterent rituum suorum ceremonias celebrare aut colere. Filii vero eorum ab ætatis anno septimo, nullam cum parentibus suis habitationem, aut societatem habere permitterentur, sed fidelissimis Christianis nutriendi traderentur, et filiæ eorum ac filii Christianis in matrimonium darentur, ne infidelium patrum suorum semitas quibuslibet occasionibus iterare possent. Vasæus in Chron. Hispan. anno 694.

be abolished. But Christian princes' consultations prevail as little for their good, as Pharaoh's policy for their forefathers' harm: they must multiply, that God's plagues may be multiplied upon them. This last here mentioned, in their estimation not the least, though otherwise intended by the state of Spain, was by the disposition of the Divine providence brought to pass, that another prophecy of Moses might be fulfilled: *Thy sons and thy daughters shall be given unto another people, and thine eyes shall still look for them, even till they fall out; and there shall be no power in thy hand,* Deut. xxviii. 32.

3 Of their estate from this accident, till three hundred years after, nothing memorable hath come unto my reading; dishonourable it was, in that their name, throughout this time, seems quite put out; miserable we may presume it, in that their wonted curse is not expired, but rather increased in ages following, in which we have express, distinct, undoubted records.

4. About the year one thousand, they were so vexed throughout most parts of Europe, that, as Moses had foretold, and my author[a] (little thinking of Moses' speeches) expressly notes, *they could find no rest.* A company of them, seated about Orleans, out of their devilish policy, address an embassage to the prince of Babylon, advertising him, that the Christians in these western parts were joining forces to assault him, hoping hereby to make him invade Christendom, by whose broils they expected, either better security from wonted dangers, or fitter opportunity of fishing for gain in troubled streams. But the tenor of their embassage being either known or suspected by the Chris-

[a] Judæi ea tempestate, in pluribus Europæ locis graviter vexati, quid agerent, aut quo se verterent nesciebant, &c. Papir. Massonus ex Glabro.

tians, the ambassador upon his return was called in question, convict, and sentenced to the fagot. Nor could the heinousness of the fact be expiated by his death; the rest of his countrymen (generally presumed to be as treacherous, when occasion served) were made away, without any formal course of law, by fire, water, sword, or what instrument of death came next to hand; this fury of Christians raging against them as far as the fame of their villainy was spread, which was quickly blazed throughout Europe. 129

5. Ere this time Ishmael was come to his full growth, and his posterity having prosecuted their old broken title to the land of promise, through their division had left the possession of it to the Turk: and so far is Isaac's seed from all hope of possessing the good things thereof, that the very love which Christians, the true seed of Abraham, bare unto these lovely dwellings of Jacob, breeds his ungracious posterity's woe, unto whom the inheritance belonged. For no expedition, either made or intended by Christians for recovering Jewry from the Turk and Saracens, but bringeth one plague or other upon the Jew; so provident is this people to procure their own mischief, and as it were to anticipate God's judgments upon themselves, by such devices as their former embassage, whose effect was to hasten the sacred war; which in the age following, undertaken upon other occasions, more than doubles all their wonted miseries. For it being intended against the Turk and Saracen, these other infidels were apprehended as a fit subject for such soldiers, as were indeed bent for Asia and the Holy Land, to practise licentious hostile outrages upon by the way. Others again made a show of setting forward against the Turks or Saracens of Asia, intending indeed only to spoil the Jews of Europe; unto which purpose that

worthy edict of the Claremont council ministered this occasion.

6. The joint consent of bishops and others there assembled[b], testified aloud in these terms, *Deus vult, Deus vult*, having found (as it seems) some lavish commendations, as if it had been *the voice of God, and not of man*, brought forth a rumour of a voice from heaven, calling Europeans into Asia: the report was not so vain, as the people of those times credulous. For beside such as were appointed, or would have been approved by the council, huge multitudes of all sorts, conditions, and sexes, run like hounds to the false halloo; some pretending the Holy Ghost's presence in visible shape. Amongst the rest, one Emicho[c], with a great band of his countrymen gathered from the banks of Rhine, having ranged as far as Hungary, and there either despairing of his hoped prey in Asia, or only using this expedition, generally countenanced by Christian princes, as a fair pretence to catch some booty nearer home, falleth upon the Jews about that country, compelling them either to live Christians or die. Besides the spoil of their goods, twelve thousand

[b] Aventinus Boiorum Annalium libro quinto, p. 361. Ex Germaniis cælitus voce edita (ita prædicant) Deus vult, Galliis, Hispaniis, Britanniis, Italia, Sicilia, innumerabilis hominum vis, duces, præfecti, tetrarchæ, dynastæ, episcopi, sacrificuli, monachi, fœminæ sacratæ, cives, opifices, agricolæ, viri, mulierculæ cum cunis, pastores cum pecore, relictis regno, urbibus, castellis, sacerdotiis, templo, contuberniis, uxoribus, liberis, prædiis, aratro, in Asiam gregatim migrant; sub specie religionis (ita sunt humana) nefanda scelera impune perpetrant. Anserem præferunt Spiritum sanctum esse. Carolum magnum revixisse prædicant—.

[c] Emicho quoque dynasta cum Rheni accolis unde oriundus erat, ad Pannoniam processit. Iique omnes Judæos sub jugo religionis nostræ mittere conantur, philosophiam nostram recipere recusantes compilant, bonis omnibus spoliant, extorres urbibus agunt, domibus eliminant atque contrucidant. Duodecim tum millia Judæorum in nostra regione cæsa fuisse, in annales relatum est.

of their persons were slain by Emicho and his complices, as the annals of these countries do testify. The like had been practised a little before by one Godescalcus, a Dutch priest; who had persuaded the king of Hungary that it was a charitable deed to kill these uncharitable Jews, until his beastly life did discredit his doctrine, and Christians begun to feel the harms of such licentious pilgrimages, after the Jews being exhausted, could not satisfy his and his followers' greedy appetites.

7. About the same age, Petrus Cluniacensis[d] direct- 130
eth a parenetical discourse unto Lewis the French king, for furtherance of his intended expedition against the Saracens; shewing him withal a ready means of maintaining his army, making the perfidious Jews purchase their lives with loss of their goods. But more vehement, if not more Jewish, was Rodulphus Vilis the German monk, delivering it in sermons as sound doctrine throughout both Germanies, that for the better supply of the sacred war, (which Christians he thought were bound in conscience to undertake,) the Jews, being as great enemies to Christianity as the Saracens were, might not only be robbed of all their goods, but ought to be put to death by Christians; as

[d] Per id tempus Judæi in Gallia et Germania rerum suarum sedem ac domicilium non pauci habebant; Petrus Cluniacensis literas ad Ludovicum scripsit quæ extant; iis laudat consilium regis de bello pro Christianis adversus Arabes Persasque suscipiendo: deinde, exposita Judæorum perfidia atque improbitate, Auferatur ait, vel maxima ex parte imminuatur Judaicarum divitiarum male parta pinguedo, et Christianus exercitus, qui ut Saracenos expugnet, pecuniis, vel terris propriis, Christi domini sui amore, non parcit, Judæorum thesauris tam pessime acquisitis non parcat, reservetur eis vita, auferatur pecunia. Serviant populis Christianis, etiam ipsis invitis, divitiæ Judæorum. Crudelior in eos Rodulphus Vilis Monachus fuit, &c. Papirius Massonus libro tertio in Ludovico septimo, p. 244.

a good omen to their future success against the Saracens. And unless saint Bernard, with other grave divines of that age, had sounded a counterblast to this furious doctrine, both by mouth and pen, this monk's prescript had been practised generally throughout Germany, ready enough to hold on as she had begun to evacuate herself of Jewish blood, always apprehended by that people as the worst humour in their body politic: many such general massacres have been intended against them in divers countries; but God still raised up one or other to solicit their cause, because he hath an ear continually unto the Psalmist's petition, not so much for theirs as Christians' good; *Slay them not, lest my people forget it: but scatter them abroad by thy power*, Psalm lix. 11. Unless God had given them such trembling hearts and sorrowful minds (as Moses had foretold) through Germany, France, and other countries, they had not been scattered so soon through this island; whither they were first brought from France, by him that brought many grievances thence unto this nation. But the evil which he intended hath God turned to our good. For God's Israel planted here until this day, may hear and fear his heavy judgment, manifested upon these Jews in the time of our forefathers; albeit at their first coming they found some breathing from their wonted persecutions. But so prodigious is all appearance of prosperity in such as God hath cursed, that these Jews' hopes of ease and welfare are an infallible symptom of great distemper in the public state wherein they live. Twice only I find in all the legend of their wandering, they had obtained some freedom, and hopes of flourishing in the lands where they were scattered: once in France, in the time of Theodebert and Theoderic, when sacred orders (as you heard before) were set to sale; and,

Why the Lord would not have the Jews utterly destroyed.

under William Rufus, whose conditions were such, that whosoever would give enough, might have whatsoever lay in his power to grant. Their estate in England, during other three kings' reign until Richard the First, yields little matter of observation: this people's hate had not as yet broken out against them, but was all this time in gathering; and after their first planting here, they were to have a time to bring forth fruit for others to eat, a time to gather wealth for others to spend, as Moses had foretold.

8. Most miserable in the meantime was their estate throughout the Eastern empire, as one of their own writers (Benjamin Tudelensis, who went on pilgrimage to visit his countrymen, wheresoever dispersed throughout the world) complaineth of their general hard usage 131
amongst the Grecians, instancing in such as were seated about Constantinople[e], within whose walls they might not come, but upon occasion of public commerce or business; in which case they were allowed passage only by boat, having their habitation, as it were, in an

[e] Nulli Judæi intra urbem habitant, exclusi enim ab illis sunt brachio aquarum, atque inter illud et Sophiæ maris brachium aliud conclusi, neque in urbem ire permittuntur nisi navigio, idque negotii et commercii causa; suntque Judæi circiter bis mille, qui cum magistris congregantur, hoc est sapientum discipulis, inter quos primas obtinent Abtalion magnus et Abdias et Aaron Cuspus, et Josephus Sarginus, et Eliakim gubernator; ex illis quidam sunt artifices vestium sericarum, quamplurimi vero mercatores sunt, iique ditissimi. Nulli Judæo illic equo vehi licet, præter Selomonem Ægyptium Medicum regium, cujus officio Judæi recreantur, suamque captivitatem solantur, quam gravem sentiunt: oppido enim invisi sunt Græcis Judæi omnes, nullo bonorum ac malorum discrimine; propter coriarios, qui dum pelles conficiunt, impuram aquam in plateas, ante suas ipsorum portas, effundunt: ideoque omnes gravi jugo pariter premuntur, atque in plateis vapulant, et coguntur violenter inservire. Verum Judæi ipsi divites, ut dixi, sunt, virique boni ac misericordes, præceptorumque observatores, qui captivitatis miseriam æquo ferunt animo. Benjamin Tudelensis in Itinerario, p. 31.

island. Amongst two thousand of this servile congregation there residing, not one permitted to come on horseback, save only Solomon the emperor's physician; whose exaltation (perhaps not fourteen handfuls above ground) was held as a public grace of the whole nation, the chief solace of that miserable and servile usage, which all the rest, without difference, good or bad, did sustain, daily beat and scourged in the open streets. Yet must we believe this relator; that these Jews were wealthy, good, and merciful men, observant of the law, such as could patiently endure this miserable captivity. But patience perforce, according to the proverb, is no patience. If God had granted them ability or opportunity, they had quickly shewed their Jewish minds by Jewish actions. And why he keepeth them continually under, unwilling to hear their cry, though they cannot, we Christians may easily perceive the cause. For so his prophet Samuel had foretold; *And ye shall cry out at that day because of your king whom ye have chosen you; and the Lord will not hear you at that day.* Which words, as a learned convert Jew rightly observeth[f], were not fulfilled in Samuel's time; whose opinions may be fortified by these reasons.

The fulfilling of Samuel's prophecy in the Jews living after our Saviour's death, 1 Sam. viii. 18.

9. Samuel's authority over that people was not so strictly linked with God's, but that they might reject the one for their present judge, still retaining the other for their supreme Lord: and who can deny, that the God of their fathers did rule over them in David's, Solomon's, Jehoshaphat's, and Hezekiah's times? Sin no doubt they did in abandoning God's priest and prophet, to follow the fashions of other nations, in submitting themselves unto a king. And Samuel, like a good physician, forewarneth them of that incurable

[f] Johan. Baptista de Confut. Jud. parte tertia.

disease, which this new-fangle and intemperate act did even then prognosticate: whose fatal crisis notwithstanding did not ensue, until they (overgrown with desperate, wilful, and intemperate malice) had rejected him with open mouth, who was both priest and prophet, and their lawful king; whose *kingdom was not of this world*, whose sovereignty was so united with the Divine Majesty, that "in casting him away, they could not but cast off God, that he should not reign over them[g]."

10. Again, before that time God always heard their cry, and redeemed them from all foreign bondage; and such as Samuel there describeth, was neither general nor perpetual under their own kings: neither did the 132
best of such use any, nor the worst all, or most part of the natural Israelites, in such sort as he there threateneth; yet all the miseries there threatened, 1 Sam. viii. 11—17, have been since accomplished in full measure, if I may so speak, in length, breadth, and profundity. First, this servility hath been extended over all the nations, without exception. Secondly, the continuance of it hath been exceeding long and perpetual without interruption; and so must continue, until they confess their forefathers' rebellion, and acknowledge him for their king, whom rejecting, they rejected God; for he that will not so honour the Son, cannot honour the Father as King. Lastly, those marks of servility set forth by Samuel have been so deeply imprinted in this generation rejected of God, that his prophecy, compared with modern histories concerning them, will seem but as painted wounded

[g] God's words in that seventh verse are as if he had said: Let it not grieve thy righteous Spirit that they grow weary of thee, but let them have their will, for so will they serve thy Lord and thy Redeemer. Sunt verba (opinor) Filii Dei seu secundæ personæ Trinitatis, 1 Sam. viii. 7.

men in a cloth of arras, to the bleeding relics of a scattered, vanquished army. For neither under any Cæsar, (though they made choice of Cæsar for their king,) nor under any other kings or states, have they lived as free denizens, capable of public office or honour: the best of them are but as slaves, prohibited to use the meanest of Christians so: the most of them, as Samuel foretold, are admitted in commonwealths, for manual services or other handicraft employments; captains I think none of them have been; unless perhaps in some desperate services: many of them in greater cities are suffered to follow merchandise, that they may serve the state as sponges; always surer to be squeezed for the moisture they have sucked, than to be nourished by it: sundry of them are curious artificers, and profess ingenious trades; like silly silkworms, permitted to exercise their skill in precious stuff, to fill princes' coffers, and find their countries clothing.

11. The possession of fields and vineyards hath not been so usual amongst this people, as their spoil amongst such as possessed any: so this Jew relateth it as a special prerogative of Calonymus[i], the son of Theodorus, (both in their lifetimes,) chief of the synagogue in Narbona, and lineally descended (as he pretendeth) from David, that he might quietly possess the fruits of his grounds. The princes, it seemeth, of that and like places, did take other Jews' fields and vineyards, and best olive trees, and gave them unto their servants, rather tithing than taking the tenth of their seed and vineyards; for that usually was the Jews' part, the

[i] Ex Narbona proficiscitur lex in omnes nationes; ubi sapientes sunt et magni et suspiciendi, imprimis Calonymus Filius Theodori bonæ memoriæ ex semine David recta genealogia, qui prædia et fundos habet a principibus regionis, nullius hominis vim aut impetum metuentia. Benjamin. Tudelens. in Itin. p. 14.

other nine (as Samuel foretold, 1 Sam. viii. 14—16.) fell unto princes' officers' lot.

12. But the greater these dispersed sons of Isaac servility was, the more it commendeth the fidelity of God's word concerning the sons of Rechab, who, as this author relateth, live united in form of a kingdom or nation [k], not subject to any foreign yoke; rather able to offend their neighbours, than likely to receive harms from them. Their estate to this author's days continued such, as they themselves acknowledged unto Jeremy; only experience (it seemeth) had taught them 133
to build cities, for their better security against the incursion of foreigners, which was not against their oath in case of necessity, as appeareth from Jeremy xxxv. 9—12. Because in other points *they have obeyed the commandment of Jonadab their father, and kept his precepts, and done according to all that he had commanded them; therefore Jonadab hath not wanted a man to stand before him until this day;* that is, their estate hath continued such as their father left them, much better than the estate of Abraham's sons by Sarah; though this Jew at his return to Paris, then flourishing with all manner of arts and sciences, found his countrymen marvellous great students in divinity, and in much better state than might be expected to continue any long time.

13. Lewis the seventh, albeit instigated thereto, (as was said before,) had not shorn them so near upon his expedition to the Holy Land, but that they might bear fleece again for his son to pluck off. Their syna-

[k] Est urbs enim ipsa Theima magna et frequens. Horum regio inter montes qui septentrionales dicuntur, sedecim dierum itinere protenditur, urbibus magnis et munitissimis exculta, nulloque externæ gentis jugo subdita. Unde prodeuntes incolæ finitimas et remotiores etiam gentes diripiunt omnes quotquot sunt usque ad Arabes; qui cum ipsis fœdus habent. Idem, p. 75.

gogues had remained still beautified; and their private wealth, either before his death much increased, or in his time not much impaired. But Almighty God, who in testimony of his rejoicing to do them good, had raised up Cyrus to Belthazar's throne, to release their nation from that captivity which Nebuchadnezzar had brought upon them; to give the world as perfect a proof of his *rejoicing over them to destroy them, and bring them to nought*, Deut. xxviii. 63. did advance Philippus Augustus[1], son unto the former Lewis, unto the crown of France, to defeat the Jews throughout that kingdom in an instant, of all their former hopes. No sooner was he enthroned king, but presently he giveth forth his edict; that their synagogues should be spoiled of all donatives and ornaments belonging to them; and, informed of the grievances which Christians sustained by them, granteth a general release of all debts due unto them from Christians, confiscating all their lands and immovable goods. This was done that Moses his prophecy might be fulfilled in part, Deut. xxviii. 30, 31, 32. *Thou shalt build an house, and not dwell therein: thou shalt plant a vineyard, but shalt not eat the fruit thereof: thine ox shall be slain before thine eyes, but thou shalt not eat thereof: thine ass shall be violently taken away before thy face, and shall not be restored unto thee: thy sheep shall be given unto thine enemies, and no man shall rescue them for thee:—the fruit of thy land, and all thy labours shall a people which thou knowest not, eat: and thou shalt never but suffer wrong and violence always.*

The persecution of the Jews in France under Philippus Augustus.

[1] An. 1179. Kalen. Octob. Ludovici patris consensu Philippus apud Rhemos regium ornatum nomenque sumpsit, præsente Henrico regis Angliæ filio, et cæteris regni proceribus. Quamprimum honorem illum adeptus est, Judæorum Synagogas donariis omnique supellectile spoliari mandavit: cumque eos audisset Christianis molestos esse, primum debita omnibus remisit, deinde fundos eorum et res non moventes, fisco addixit. Pap. Masson. lib. 3. Annal. Franc. initio Phil. Aug. p. 250.

CHAP. XXIX. 134

Of the fulfilling other particular prophecies of Moses in the Jews' persecutions, in England, Germany, France, and Spain.

1. THAT they should not once or twice, in this or that age, in some one or few kingdoms only, but always, in every place, where they have come since their rooting out of their own land, suffer such wrong and violence, must needs be thought to have proceeded rather from Divine justice, than man's injustice, which could not but have varied with the diversity of times and places, and the several dispositions of parties, amongst whom in this their long pilgrimage they have lived. And yet this brief enumeration (following) of their particular spoils and hard usages since Philippus Augustus' time, throughout the most civil and best governed states of Europe, will abundantly confirm the truth of Moses' general induction, in the place now cited, *Thou shalt never but suffer wrong and violence always.* To begin with their persecutions in this land.

The lamentable massacre of the Jews upon king Richard the First his coronation day.

2. Had Henry (the eldest son of Henry the Second, who was present at the forenamed French king's coronation [m], acquainted with these severe edicts against the Jews) lived to enjoy the crown of England after his father, as he was entitled king with him; the grievous wrongs and violence, immediately after befalling these Jews throughout this kingdom, had been ascribed to this politic imitation of the French king his brother; at least men would have thought, they had been done by his sufferance or connivance. But God had taken him away, and yet these Jews' entreaty continues much worse under Richard the First, who never intended them like harm; only upon his coronation day, (with his reign begins their woe, which ends not till their final

[m] Papirius Massonus, loco citato.

extirpation hence,) not willing to be beholden unto them for their presents, or (as some think) partly afraid lest admitted to his presence they might practise some sorcery upon his body, he gave command that no Jew should come either within the church, where he was crowned, or the palace where he was to dine. But they desirous to present him with some gift, in hope to have their charters and other privileges granted by other kings confirmed by him, press in at the palace gate amongst others, making (perhaps) more haste but worse speed; one of them receiving a blow for his forwardness by one of the king's servants, who might well justify the fact by the king's command to keep them out. The people about the gate apprehend the matter so, as if this Jew had been beat by the king's commandment, and so they thought might all the rest of that crew: and hence fall upon them with such weapons as they could find, as it was easy to find bats to beat these doggish Jews home to their kennels, where they found but silly shelter: for albeit their houses were strong, yet the rage of the people was too great against them. With the multitude the former rumour was enlarged, that it was the king's pleasure to have all the Jews destroyed: and, as the axiom is, men's own desires are quickly believed. So far more apt they were to apprehend this rumour as true, than to examine whether it were true or no, that the lord chief justice and other officers, sent from the king to appease the tumult, were more likely to catch harm themselves, than to free these Jews from present danger: some of whose houses now flaming gave the people light to spoil and rifle others in the dark. For so violently were they set to wrong them, and eat their labours, that they could not be satisfied from dinner-time on the one day, to two o'clock on the other: many of these Jews in the mean time

being roasted, or smothered with their goods; others leaping out of the fire, fell upon their enemies' weapons. Although the outrage was such, as in a peaceable state might seem intolerable; yet was the heinousness of the offence quite swallowed up by the multitude of the offenders. But as the English escaped unpunished, so the Jews were not amended by their correction. Their stubbornness, as the scripture tells me, did first procure their blindness, and their blindness becoming hereditary hath confirmed their stubbornness to posterity.

The brutish stupidity of the Jews.

3. The former violence which they suffered would have been a sufficient caveat to any people in the world besides to have carried themselves with more moderation in a strange land: but not the flies so stupid and senseless in discerning the causes of their smart, as this people is. Their perfidiousness and daily sucking of Christians' blood, had made them most odious in this as in other lands; and though a number of them be massacred to-day for like attempts; yet the rest are as ready again to-morrow to seize upon every sore, either to exhaust the relics of life from such as are shrunk in their estate by cruel exactions and damned usury; or else to intrude themselves, as wedges or instruments of divisions, into every breach that shall appear amongst Christians, or between them and others. In which practice they have been continually crushed. Finally, their general carriage is so odious and preposterous, that, albeit the Christian magistrates conspire together for their good, they themselves will certainly provoke their own misery.

Their massacre in Lynn in Norfolk.

4. The lamentable death of those Jews in London had purchased pity and compassion towards the rest, (as the king's proclamation for their peace and security did witness,) but their brethren of Lynn cannot abstain

from offering that violence, from which the king had privileged them, to one of their own lineage, for becoming a Christian; attempting forcible entrance into the church, whither he had fled for sanctuary. Unless they had thus riotously violated the king's peace, the Christians had not assembled together, and the inhabitants were afraid at all to meddle with them. But so God had provided, that a great company of foreign mariners should repair unto this mutiny; who, moved with indignity of the attempt, could not content themselves with the rescue of the convert, (at the first perhaps only intended,) but assault these mutinous Jews, through fear repairing to their houses; which the other first rifle, then burn, together with their owners, departing unpunished with spoil.

5. The end of the king's proclamation being once frustrate, by this strange accident, though not purposely or directly violated by the inhabitants of this place; his subjects elsewhere are willing enough to imitate the fact, without any occasion of like wrongs,
136 offered by the Jews, only upon opportunity of doing violence by the king's absence, and the present mustering of soldiers for the Holy Land; upon whom, transported hence, their partners in evil, here at home remaining, might post over the whole blame of the fact, of part whereof no doubt his soldiers had been guilty. The like massacres of these Jews ensued at Stamford, at Lincoln, and St. Edmondsbury shortly after; but of all others most memorable and lamentable was that which in the same Lent befell them at York.

6. The Jews there dwelling had heard by this time what had been done unto their brethren in London and Lynn, and see now the like or greater violence intended against themselves: so that as Moses in the forecited place, Deut. xxviii. 34, addeth, *they became*

mad for the sight of their wrong and violence which their eyes did see. One of their learned rabbins persuades four hundred of his company, besieged with him in a strong tower by a furious multitude, to prove themselves (such as the world had long taken them, and were now persecuted for) right cut-throats indeed, rather than fall into their enemies' hands; himself confirming his doctrine by his example, in cutting his wife's throat first, then his children's, and lastly by killing himself. The residue of the four hundred, which he had persuaded unto this unnatural and Jewish act, not only willing to imitate him herein, would before their death have enforced many others, that would not yield unto this rabbin's advice, to a more violent death, had they not conveyed themselves into a strong turret, within the main tower, which defended them from the flames that consumed their goods. And yet these poor souls, that had scaped their fellows' violence, were born to suffer the like of their Christian enemies; to their shame, who had promised them life, upon condition they would yield themselves and become Christians; which whether they meant in heart or no as they promised, he that trieth the secrets of all hearts doth know. Sure I am, their professed Christian enemies did turn Jews in heart, that treacherously killed them before any trial made of their sincerity towards Christ.

The horrible conspiracy of the Jews against their own souls in York.

7. All these wrongs and violences were committed only by the people, much against the magistrates' minds; but hereafter the supreme magistrates, kings themselves, (as if they had learned wit of their subjects,) took the monopoly of wronging the Jews into their own hands. To omit what Richard the First had done unto them, their hard usage under king John, Henry the Third, and Edward the First, makes me think that

Moses, in the last words of his often mentioned prophecy, Deut. xxviii, spake in his language that said, *Patria est ubicunque bene est:* so as England, and every place in Europe, wherein their condition of life hath been more hard and burdensome than their forefathers' had been in Egypt, may be said to be that Egypt, whereunto the Lord had threatened to bring them again by ships[n]. King John's exactions were so grievous, that they had rather suffer than do what he commanded, many of them being imprisoned and tortured before they would yield what he demanded. What an intolerable thing was it for a private man in those times
137 to pay ten thousand marks, for refusal of which that poor Jew of Bristol was so pitifully used[o]; but with God it was just, to punish him by his own greediness of gain; for unless his money had been as dear to him as meat to such as make their belly their god, he would have let his gold go, before he had lost seven teeth of nine.

The French king persecuted them at the same time as miserably as Matthew Paris intimates.

8. King Henry the Third first demands the third part of all their movables for his supplies; then punished them grievously by the purse, for a murder secretly committed by them; and thirdly, makes them buy their miserable peace by the third part of what was left: finally, he brought them to such extreme poverty, that his brother, to whom he let them out to farm, could (it seems) make nothing of them; and so they were freed from this brutish servitude (as Moses

[n] Yet were it worth inquiry, whether such as have been transported out of Spain or other countries of Europe, were not sent into Eygpt; or what entertainment they find there. They came out of Egypt without ships, for the sea gave them passage, Deut. xxviii. 68. The report of their persecutions about this time in Spain, made them more ready to redeem their peace. Vide Mat. Paris.

[o] Vide orationem pontificis judæorum, suorum calamitates deplorantis apud Mat. Paris. Aaron the Jew paid Hen. III. 30,200 marks. Holinsh. anno 1250 – 242.

in the forecited place had foretold) for want of a buyer. The king surely did not so much pity them, as he did himself and his posterity, who should have gotten nothing of them, if the bargain with his brother had gone forward; whereas his successor, Edward the First, accounted their goods as his own, and for non-payment of what he demanded, the whole generation scattered throughout this land were shut up in one night, where they enjoyed no day, until they had fined at the king's pleasure; who yet perhaps did recover but as much as he and his subjects were endamaged, by two hundred and odd of their countrymen, all condemned some eight years before for circumcising, counterfeiting, and washing his coin. This king, albeit their wealth under him was much diminished, had this advantage of his predecessors. The English, desirous to have them banished, and they, as willing to spite the English by their staying here, were both forward to purchase their contrary desires by large offers to the king, until the English at last did outvie them by a fifteenth, which the parliament granted for their utter avoidance of this land; so much welcomer was their room than company.

9. All their immovable goods, with their obligations and bills of debt, were confiscated: thus (as Moses saith) *they had builded houses, but could not dwell therein; vineyards they had planted which they could not carry with them,* never to return hither again, they nor their seed to eat of their fruit: yea, even the gold and coin, with other riches which they were permitted to transport, were reserved to many of their owners' evil. The sea, which gave their forefathers passage from Egypt, did swallow up a great number of those wealthiest Jews at their departure out of this land. And, howsoever both his fact that exposed them to danger

was most impious, and his speeches scurrilous, in turning them off to pray to Moses, when he might have saved them, yet if we consider the concourse of circumstances, and opportunity tempting him, otherwise ill disposed unto this fact, his profane jesting at their miserable death was a sensible document of the Almighty's rejoicing to destroy them, and bring them to nought.

Of these Jews' massacres in Germany, after their banishment out of England, or about that time.

10. During this time of their abode here (which was two hundred and odd years) their general persecutions throughout Germany (that have come unto my reading) were not so rife as in the ages following. In the year 1286[p], (in which they had been generally imprisoned throughout this land,) they had stabbed a child throughout his whole body with needles, at
138 Munchen in Bavere, taking his blood in a bason; to use it, as the suspicion was then, in sacrifice, for staunching that issue of blood, wherewith this people (Christians know why) is continually pestered. These butchers were detected by the drover, an old hag, taken in the very manner, while she was stealing a second for the same purpose. The body of the former being found out by her directions, the fresh print of infinite wounds filled with gore, imploring vengeance, as it were with so many watery and blubbered eyes, did so enrage the multitude, that they could not expect the judge's sentence, but fall immediate upon these Jews, notwithstanding the princes' servants, and their chief magistrates' earnest endeavours to appease the tumult, conveying as many Jews as they could into their synagogue, which the people, burning with fury, set on fire, and with it burned an hundred and eighty Jews.

11. [q]Yet this was but as a little flash in the firepan to

[p] Avent. Boior. Annalium, lib. 7. p. 442.

[q] Aventinus, lib. 7. [p. 453.] Boior. Annalium.

that general fury, which the people of this and other countries of Germany did discharge upon this cursed seed about ten years after. The alarum to this bloody fact was a rumour, true or false, by God's disposition a means to bring destruction upon them whom he rejoiced to destroy; as soon condemned by the multitude, as accused for stealing away the consecrated host, as they term it, and amongst other indignities, for braying it in a mortar, until it bled again. One Rindeflaish, of what spirit God knows, by profession a husbandman, (whether one of the raisers of this rumour, or only taking opportunity upon it blazed abroad by others,) proclaims that he was sent from heaven to destroy the Jews, wheresoever scattered upon the face of the earth: and with that conjuring acclamation, "As many as bare any love to Christ, or wished the safety and welfare of Christendom, let them follow him," gets so many followers, that through eight or nine cities, named by mine author, and many others omitted, they rob, spoil, and kill these Jews, now become as obstinate and stubborn as the others were violent. For after they had gathered their goods and household-stuff together, lest the Christians should be any better by it, or they themselves by Christians, that would have enforced them to baptism, the men with their wives and children cast themselves into the fire, and so perish with their ill gotten goods. The signs of the time, with which in particular we are not acquainted, did fully persuade both priest and people that all was done by God's special appointment: and Aventinus himself saith, *Iram divinam fuisse necesse est;* because the emperor, most desirous to revenge their wrongs, was enforced to give place to this persuasion, and dissemble his grief. The magistrates of Regineburgh (the ancient metropolis of Bevere) with

much ado persuaded their people to forbear execution of their wrath, and expect more certain warrants from heaven for their proceedings.

12. [r]Not many years after this their general calamity throughout Bevere and old France, they and the lepers conspire to poison the fountains throughout the French kingdom, and are both made away on heaps by the people, dying for the most part by the contrary element, without any conviction or arraignment, which forty of them, imprisoned at Vitrie in Campania[s], did wisely prevent, by killing themselves all in one gaol. So cunningly doth the Almighty plot their overthrow,
139 ever since he became their enemy, that it is ofttimes hard to say, whether man's purposes for their good or evil bring greater plagues upon them. Not fifteen years before this time, [t]Philip the Fair had apprehended all the Jews throughout his dominions in one day, robbed them of their goods, and rid his land of them. About ten years after this, their banishment by public edict, (not five years before the late mentioned persecution,) Lewis the Tenth[u], son to this Philip, intending their good, revokes his father's edict for their perpetual banishment, and brought them back again into France; where these malefactors were, by the appointment of God, to suffer just punishment for their villainies there committed by their fathers and them, and their bodies serving for fuel to the flame, prepared by God to

[r] Superest ultimus Philippi annus: illo, leprosos, Judæosque in Gallia vexatos constat, propter suspicionem veneni in puteos sparsi—. Autores sceleris Judæi a morbosis et miseris hominibus esse dicebantur; quare in utrosque sævitum, plebe, (nulla expectata judicii forma) igni illos cremante. Papirius Massonus, l. 3. Fran. Annal. in Philippo Longo, p. 380.

[s] Idem ibidem.

[t] Uno die Judæi tota Francia capti, bonis eorum fisco addictis, regni finibus excedere jussi sunt. Papirius Masson. lib. 3. Annalium Francorum, p. 363.

[u] Idem Papir. in vita Ludovici. Hutini, p. 372.

purge the air which their blasphemous mouths had polluted.

13. [x]The like plagues, but far more general, from like provocation, did befall them, about the year 1337, and the times ensuing till 1348[y]. They hoped Christian religion should have died in the wars between the emperor and the pope; the state of Christendom they saw deeply endangered in these civil broils: and they, according to their Jewish policy, seek to thrust it over head and ears in blood, poisoning the fountains throughout Germany, offering like violence to the sacraments as they had done before; and by this just provocation were so dealt withal by one Hartmannus and his complices, as they had been used some forty years ago by Rindeflaish. The rehearsal of all particular outrages committed against them, during the time of the pope and emperor's variance, would take up more room in this discourse, than all the rest hitherto reckoned[z]. Most memorable is that of the Jews inhabiting Worms; who, persecuted by the people, implore the bishop's intercession for their safety: the conditions of their peace, procured by him, were, to be washed from their sins; and having respite given to deliberate upon the point, they pollute themselves with their own blood, without returning any further answer to the bishop that had interceded for them.

14. This and the like barbarous impiety, committed by others of this cursed race at Vitrie, almost forty, at

[x] Aventinus lib. septimo Annalium Boior. [p. 477.]

[y] The like plague befell them at Prague about the year 1389, for the like contumely offered by their children to the host (as they term it). Incensis domibus, fœminæ cum parvulis se sua sponte injecerunt incendio, ne probris Christianorum expositæ ad extremum necarentur. Krantzius Wandalorum Hist. l. 9. c. 23.

[z] Vide H. Mutium et Bertoldum Presbyt. Constant.

York, above an hundred years before, cannot be ascribed to the revolutions of the heavens, or successive reign of some unruly stars; all of them were from His will, *in whom there is no shadow of change.* In these last massacres, as in the former, the magistrates in many places had minds willing enough to save them, but durst not venture their bodily presence for their rescue. Albeit the manner of the Christians proceeding against them be usually such, as none but Jews would justify; yet this is an evident argument, that the Lord of lords and King of kings hath ordained them to suffer wrong, whom the greatest powers, in such civil states as Germany, France, and England are, cannot right. For although the Palsgrave, with some others inclining unto them, had taken their protection upon them in these last persecutions; yet even this pity, whether true or pretended, did cause their further wrongs, by grievous exactions, for maintaining the war begun in their defence. So strangely doth the wisdom of God bring that to pass which his servant Moses had foretold, Deut. xxviii. 29. *Thou shalt not prosper in thy ways: thou shalt never but be oppressed with wrong and be polled evermore, and no man shall succour thee.* Even succour itself by their distempered appetites is turned into sorrow. Though all Christian kings and states should conspire together for their weal; yet (as I said before) they will conceive mischief, and bring forth their own destruction, by bursting out into such shameful acts, as deserve grievous punishment in sight of God and man. So in the year 1410[a], they go about their wonted practice of crucifying a Christian child in contumely of our Saviour Christ; but their intent being known before they had opportunity of acting it, the marquess of Misna, and landgrave of Turing, find

[a] Krantzius, lib. 10. Wandal. cap. 18.

room enough for their coin in their coffers, but leave none for them, stript naked of all they had within any part of their dominions. Or if they do sometimes that which in itself is good, they do it with such malicious minds, that God gives them but the reward of wickedness: so in the year 1421[b], for furnishing the poor Christians of Bohemia with money and munition against their Antichristian persecutors, they were generally imprisoned throughout Bevere, quite bereft of all their money and coin, and lastly banished all the dominions belonging to Frederic duke of that province. Nor doth their inbred spite to Christians, or their plagues due thereunto, wear out in that age. For, in the year 1497, they were burnt at Stenneberge in the province of Stargardia[c], for their wonted violence and indignities offered to the blessed eucharist.

15. Thus much of their estate in England, France, and Germany, until the year 1500. Of their estate in Germany since, if God permit, elsewhere, because it yields matter of distinct observation from the former. Now briefly to acquaint the reader with so much of their affairs in Spain, as may testify some other parts of Moses his prophecy in the formentioned place. In the year 1482, the measure of their iniquity was grown so full, that this land could not bear it: and they themselves become so abominable to Ferdinand and Isabel his queen, that none of this seed must stay within their dominions, unless they will become Christians, as sundry of larger possessions amongst them in outward profession did, the rest were scattered thence into other countries, most into Portugal, welcome for their money

[b] Krantzius, lib. 11. Saxon. cap. 7.

[c] Krantzius Wand. lib. 14. cap. 17. The like facts and massacres of the Jews at Cheracho, are related by the same Krantzius, l. 8. Wandal. cap. 8. anno 1330. Of these Jews' estate in Spain and Portugal about the year 1500, see Osorius, lib. primo de gestis Emanuelis. [p. 5.]

to sojourn there a certain time: after which as many as were found in Portugal, were there to remain as slaves unto the king; such as would, were to be transported at his cost and charges. The king himself (unless Osorius be partial for him) was careful to perform his promise, to secure them of peace during their abode, and of safe passage at the time appointed. But the mariners having once gotten them aboard, did make their ships as so many prisons, or houses of torture, to wrest their wealth out of their hands, lengthening the time by circular and unnecessary turnings, back and forth, until the Jews had quite spent all their provision, afterwards enforced to buy their food, and other necessaries of the mariners, at what rate they pleased. And, not content with spoil of their goods, they abuse the bodies of their wives and daughters to their lust, not pleasant enough, unless sauced with other contumelies and indignities practised upon their fathers and husbands. Finally, by these mariners' too much thinking that their passengers were Jews, and might be used accordingly, they forgot that they themselves were Christians, and stain that sacred profession with all manner of base villainy and impiety. Partly through
141 this delay in shipping over the first company, partly through the abuses done unto them, so shameful, that the fame thereof was brought unto their fellows' ears by the wind, which served the mariners back to Portugal: the latter sort remaining in expectation of safe passage, either could not or would not be transported at the day appointed, and so by their staying became captives to John then king of Portugal. But Emanuel his successor not long after sets them free, using all other fair means to bring them unto Christ, until Ferdinand and Isabel his confederates, solicit these ill-thriving plants' ejection out of Portugal, as unfit to

settle in any Christian soil[d]. After long debatement with his counsellors for their exile or stay, the fresh examples of their expulsion by so many other Christian kings and princes did move Emanuel to their imitation. So that either they must avoid his dominions by a certain day, or else remain there either free men in Christ, or slaves and captives unto him: as many of them did against their wills, not able to provide themselves of shipping, having but one port at last allowed them for their passage: whereas at the first promulgation of the king's edict against them, they had choice of three. The greatness of their number, best appearing by their confluence about the day appointed for their passage, moved the good king with compassion, to see so many thousand souls should desperately run the ways of death; and seeing no hope of diseasoning the old and withered stocks, fit fuel for everlasting flames, he was the more desirous to recover some of their young and tender grafts, by watering them with the water of grace: and for this purpose gives strict commandment, that all their children under fourteen years of age should be taken from their Jewish parents, and trained up in the school of Christ. This sudden and unexpected divorce, though intended in compassion of the children, brought greater misery on the parents, than if their own flesh had been torn from their bones. There a man (so his heart would have served him) might have seen silly infants haled from their mothers' breasts, more willing to embrace death than part with them; and yet for pity, (lest their hands by holding fast, might prove their children's racks,) suffering them to be drawn out of their tender embracements, with far more

[d] The Jews ejected out of Portugal, and their miserable usage under Emanuel, vide Osorium, lib. 1. de gestis Emanuelis. [p. 13 et 14.]

grief and sorrow of heart, than they had been brought out of the womb; fathers enclasping their sons and daughters, willing to die in their arms, had these beat off (as hoops from vessels which they environ) from their children's bodies, and either broken or benumbed with blows. A voice was heard through Portugal, surpassing that in Ramah, nothing but mourning and weeping and lamentation, many a Leah blearing her eyes with weeping for her children, and would not be comforted; men and women filling the heavens with more hideous outcries than the Egyptians did at their forefathers' departure out of Egypt, when the first-born of every family throughout the land was slain at midnight. But these were bereft at once of all their loving children, in the open sun. Many of them, not able either to rescue or dispatch their own bowels, became mad with the sight that their eyes had seen, and killed themselves: others, having better opportunity, account it a part of their happiness to be able to prevent their children's washing in the sacred font, by drowning them in draw-wells and ditches. In both these calamities, at the two forementioned transporta-
142 tions, we may see those prophecies of Moses exactly fulfilled, Deut. xxviii. 30. *Thou shalt betroth a wife, and another man shall lie with her:* and again, ver. 32, *Thy sons and thy daughters shall be given unto another people, and thine eyes shall fail at the sight every day, and there shall be no power in thy hand.* Many Moors, professing Mahumetism, were transported from Portugal the same time, but had no such violence offered them: what was the reason? God would have a manifest distinction between this and other people. The barbarous Moors had some power in their hands, and the Portugals abstain from like usage of them; lest the report coming to the African Mahumetans'

ears, might have moved them to avenge their wrongs upon poor Christians, living amongst them. But these Jews nowhere had any nation, none to avenge their grievous wrong, which the Lord God of their forefathers had ordained they should suffer, at all times, in all places wheresoever they have come, without redress.

16. Nor do their fates change with their name or profession. For what violence was ever offered to any of this race, like to that which these late converts christened Hebrews (but still Jews in misfortunes) suffered in Lisbon[e], in the year 1506. Two thousand massacred in three days' space; many not suffered to die of deadly wounds, were dragged by their mangled limbs into the market-place, where the bodies of the living and slain, with others half alive, half dead, were burnt together on heaps. The spectacle was so horrible, that it quite astonied the rest of this miserable progeny, at other times as desperately set to suffer, as monks furiously to inflict any torture. Parents durst not mourn for their children, nor children sigh for their parents, though each haled in others' sight to the place of torments, lest these significations of their grief and sorrow might bewray them to be of the tormented kindred, with whom the least suspicion of alliance was sufficient to make them inherit like plagues, ere the breath was out of their predecessors' bodies. Osorius'[f] description of these distressed souls' perplexity,

[e] The lamentable massacre of these Jews at Lisbon; and the natural consequence of monkish devotion towards Christ's image therein represented. Osorius lib. 4. de Rebus Gestis Emanuelis. [p. 127.]

[f] Ingens eo die stupor adeo miserrimæ gentis sensus oppresserat, ut ne lamentari quidem cladem illam, et deplorare miseriam suam possent. Qui se occultabant, quamvis filios aut parentes suos ad supplicium abripi viderent, ne lugubri gemitu proderentur, vocem emittere non audebant. Sic autem eos metus examinaverat, ut vivi non mul-

shewed in their gesture and carriage during this massacre, may serve, albeit he meant nothing less, as a paraphrase upon the last words of Moses' often-mentioned prophecy. There (that is, in the utmost parts of the earth) *the Lord shall give thee a trembling heart, and a sorrowful mind, and thy life shall hang before thee.* The disposition of the Divine providence in affording opportunity to this licentious outrage was muchwhat like to that described before in Lynn. A great part of these tragical actors were German and French mariners, which had repaired to Lisbon for other traffick, but returned home unpunished, burdened with the spoil of these Hebrews' goods, but more heavily laden with guilt of their blood: albeit their souls were not so deeply died therewith as the Lisbon monks, who had instigated them and others to this butchery, inflamed themselves with this furious zeal, only by an unseasonable speech of one poor Hebrew apprehended by the other as derogatory to our Saviour. For whilst the others, by long gazing upon the picture of his wounded side through a glass, took the reflex of light, thence cast upon their dazzled eyes, for a miracle, the silly Hebrew, whether openly to contradict, or unawares, (uttering to some bystanders what he thought,) bewrayed his incredulity, how a piece of dry wood should work miracles.

143 17. Whilst I read so many christened souls thus butchered like beasts for one's denial of Divine honour to a lifeless image, I could not but pause with myself; and now I must commend it to the Christian reader's consideration, whether that part of Moses' prophecy, and *there thou shalt serve other gods, which thou hast not known, nor thy fathers, wood and stone*[g],

tum a mortuorum similitudine distarent. Osorius de Rebus Gest. Emanuelis, lib. 4. [p. 128.]

[g] Deut. xxviii. 36, 64.

may not be understood of the convert Jews throughout the pope's dominions, thus ofttimes urged to commit idolatry with stocks and stones, upon more tyrannical terms, if they gainsay, than their forefathers were either by the Assyrian, Chaldæan, Egyptian, Roman, or any whosoever had led them captive out of their land. If the monkish apologizer reply, there is great difference between the heathen idol and their image worship; I grant the idolatry is of a diverse kind; and so it seems Moses meant when he threatened this people, that after their final transplantation by Adrian, and their scattering through Spain, and these western countries, they should serve such gods as their fathers had not known. For this people's forefathers, before Moses' time and after, had known the heathen gods too well. If the Romanist yet rejoin, that in worshipping Christ's image, they worship Christ, I will not deny but he may think so: for so the Jews thought they honoured Moses, because they honoured the letter of his law. But, to omit other reasons, this and other like outrageous facts, committed upon as light occasions, shall convince their nice school-distinctions of foul error, and turn their lies with such violence into their throat, that (as St. Augustine interprets the Psalmist of these Jews) *I shall even break their teeth in their mouths*[h]. For if the zeal these monks of Lisbon bare unto this image had been directed unto Christ, they had in some good measure been transformed into the similitude of his gentle, meek, and merciful disposition. It was wood-worship doubtless which had made them so mad and furious: it was their continual adoring of stones, which had turned their hearts of flesh into hearts more full of fire than the flint, and harder

[h] Psalm lviii. 6.

than the hardest adamant. But of the effects of monkish pity towards Christ or the crucifix, as also of the Jesuits' doctrine concerning image-worship, elsewhere, if God permit. Thus much of these Jews' estate from time to time may suffice for our intended purpose, to be further collected in the chapter following.

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CHAP. XXX.

General Collections out of the particular Histories before mentioned; the strange Dispositions of the Jews; and God's Judgments upon them, all testifying the Truth of Divine Oracles.

1. I CANNOT but approve [i]Crantzius his judgment of these Jews, that they are a perfidious and wicked people, worthy to be spewed out of the confines of Christendom, as many princes have expelled them their dominions. But as the same author observeth, howsoever Christian governors (as the world now counts Christians) are most opposite in outward show to the religion which they profess; yet they agree too well with them in their love unto this world's god; by whose means these Jews, after they have been expelled one country, find admission into some other, or else into the same again; as they did into France whence they were expelled by the father, and brought in again by the son; and into [k]Ravenna, whence banished (for

[i] Gens perfida, agens quod solet mus in pera, &c. Crantz. Libro Undecimo, Saxon. cap. 7.

[k] Abierunt hoc anno ex hac parte Judæi, Pii 5. Pontificis max. jussu, qui acerrimo diplomate exterminari illos ex ecclesiasticæ ditionis civitatibus mandaverat. Quanquam enim illos tolerabat ecclesia, miserata illorum vicem, ut Christianis frequenti illorum aspectu, Christi Dei mors versaretur ob oculos; et Judæi Christianorum exemplis, ac doctrina, ad amplectendam Christianæ fidei veritatem, quam reliquias Israel, juxta divini vatis oraculum, accepturas constat, incitarentur: a qua si ablegarentur ad alienos longius multo abessent: tamen, cum, et usuris gravibus exigendis, et la-

their combination with thieves and robbers, and sacrilegious persons, for sorceries or magical charms, in winning women to their own or others' lust) by Pius Quintus in the year 1568, they were recalled by Sixtus Quintus in the year 1587. As if the former of these kings and popes had cast their hooks into another man's liberties, and their successors had drawn them, when they had caught the prey. For so in truth these Jews are like roving hounds or spaniels, which catch a prey wheresoever they come, and carry it unto any prince or potentate that will give them harbour. They never stand upon better terms with any prince or people than notorious or cunning malefactors do with grave judges or great statesmen; who ofttimes wink at such villainies as they hate, for some further purpose. Nor could these Jews ever hitherto purchase their ease and quiet, as they have often done their admission into divers countries. Since their rooting out of their own land, they have continued as hares hunted from their seat; no sooner find they any place of habitation in these ends of the world, but the cry of God's judgments strait pursues them. If for a time they may seem to gather strength, or to recover themselves from that faintness of heart; it is but to take their feese (or rise) with greater force to their break-neck. In the pits, which they dig for Christians, are their own feet always taken. The best advantages whichthey can espy and entertain with greediness for

tronibus furibusque etiam rerum ecclesiasticarum recipiendis, magicis artibus, ac lenociniis mulierum exercendis, illorum impietas jam eo processisset, ut pro communi omnium incolumitate expediret, tanti vim morbi celeri remedio coercere, omnino eos rejiciendos ex civitatibus decrevit. Hieron. Rubeus, lib. xi. (initio) hist. Raven.

their good, are but baits, laid by the Almighty's hand to entrap them: and whilst his judgments hunt them one way, and they take another to escape them, in the very places (whereunto they fly for refuge, as foxes chased do to their holes) is the fatal gin set for their souls; as appears out of the histories here set down, which are but so many experiments of Moses his rule, Deut. xxviii. 65—67. *Also among these nations thou shalt find no rest, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest: for the Lord shall give thee there a trembling heart, sinking eyes, and a sorrowful mind: and thy life shall hang before thee; and thou shalt fear both day and night, and shalt have no assurance of thy life: in the morning thou shalt say, Would God it were evening! and at evening thou shalt say, Would God it were morning! for the fear of thine heart which thou shalt fear, and for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see.*

Of the loathsome conceit which most nations have of the Jews, foretold by Moses and the prophets.

2. But as no money could hitherto purchase their peace and security from calamities; so neither could their calamities, though continually most grievous, redeem their estimation in the world, nor all the blood of their slain (though their massacres have been numberless) till these times, allay, much less extinguish that hateful and loathsome conceit, which most men have entertained of them. To ascribe all this to their forefathers' sins against our Saviour, is true, but too general to give satisfaction in all particular doubts which their estate might minister. For why the children should inherit their father's curse, without continuance in like sins, is a point which admits no resolution. Again, why this people above all other creatures should continue their devilish temper still, having tried such change of air, diversity of soils, con-

versing among so many severally disposed people, seems yet more strange. I have read of trees, leaving their poison with their native soil, by transplantation bringing forth edible and wholesome fruit; wolves in few generations will become as kind as dogs. Lions and bears by often presence of men, grow more tame; generally beasts of most wild nature, by often housing will come near the nature of domestic creatures. Rude idiots by frequent intercourse with men of better fashion, in time will take some tincture of civility and discretion. Of all sensible creatures, only the Jew, in so many descents, after so many grievous corrections, for his own, and his forefathers' sins, can no more leave his Jewish disposition, than the leopard can his spots. It further increased my admiration, why the whole progeny, being utterly banished this land above three hundred years ago, their memory should still remain for a pattern of mischievous minds, either apt to do, or fit to suffer any violence: the very name of a Jew serving this people as a perfect measure, either to notify the height of impiety in the agent, or to sound the depth and bottom of an abject, worthless, forlorn condition in any patient. Better we cannot express most cut-throat dealing than thus—None but a Jew would have done so; lower we cannot prize any one of most abject condition, than by comparing him to a Jew. For so in common speech we exaggerate enormous wrongs done to the most odious or despised amongst us—This had been enough for a Jew to suffer, or I would not have done so to a Jew. All these plagues are come upon them, for continuing in their forefathers' steps; and to make their Creator the author of their villainous minds were impiety: his word endures for ever, *Perditio tua ex te, O Israel.* Yet, is it possible that any people, endued with the light of reason, should continue so ob-

stinate and obdurate, as willingly to deserve all men's hate they have to deal with? I know not better how to resolve this doubt, than our apostle did his, of their forefathers' unbelief, after so many miracles wrought amongst them: *Therefore*, saith he, *could*
146 *they not believe, because Esaias saith, He hath blinded their eyes* &c. John xii. 39, 40. Therefore must I say, they could not but continue hateful and opprobrious amongst all people with whom they have conversed, because Moses had said, Deut. xxviii. 37, *Thou shalt be a wonder, a proverb, and a common talk among all people whither the Lord shall carry thee.* So likewise had Jeremy xxiv. 9. *I will give them for a terrible plague to all the kingdoms of the earth, for a reproach and for a proverb, for a common talk and for a curse, in all places where I shall cast them.* If any man then further ask, Why Israel is cut off from the land which God had given him, and made a proverb, and a common talk amongst all people; God himself hath taught us how to answer—*Because they have forsaken the Lord their God, which brought their fathers out of the land of Egypt,* &c. This the Lord himself foretold, and gave them warning of, even when he specified the articles of his covenant, made with Solomon for their peace. 1 Kings ix. 6—9. These authorities may suffice to stay all such doubts as might arise from curious inquiring after the causes of these peoples' incessant misery; which cannot seem strange, because foretold; nor unjust, in that they were born to more extraordinary prosperity; from which being fallen, by following their own ungracious ways, they are now reserved, as Pharaoh after many admonitions was, for marks or butts, against whom the arrows of God's wrath and

[1] Such speeches do not import an absolute cause of the thing, but of our instruction or persuasion concerning it.

vengeance must be shot, to the terror of others, and manifestation of his power.

3. These grounds supposed, the consideration of their many and cruel massacres, their often spoiling and robbing, and other outrages, which, according to the forecited prophecies of them, they continually suffer, would the atheist but lay it to his heart, would wring thence, what the Divine oracles have uttered; that this had been a people appointed to destruction, never suffered to multiply unto a nation; as if God had used them as men do wild beasts, nursing only so many of them, as may make sport by their destruction. So likewise their continual wandering up and down in the world, without any rest, doth abundantly witness; that albeit they bear the shape and nature of men, yet are they no natural part of the world; but have the same proportion in the civil body, or society of mankind, that bad humours have in our natural and material bodies; which by course of nature should be expelled her confines, but, being retained, run from joint to joint, and lastly breed some grievous swellings in the extreme parts. And, amongst other most tried and demonstrative experiments of Moses' often-mentioned prophecy, this is not the least; that Spain and Portugal, for these later years, have been the chief receptacle of these Jews: as if Hercules' pillars, accounted by the ancients the utmost ends of the world, were not the full period of their peregrination westward, whom the Lord had threatened, Deuteronomy xxviii. 64. *to scatter amongst all people, from the one end of the world unto the other.* There they have been in greatest abundance for many years, as it were expecting a wind for their passage to some place more distant from their native country. And who knows whether that prophecy, Deuteronomy xxviii. 41—*Thou shalt beget*

sons and daughters, but shalt not have them; for they
147 *shall go into captivity*—hath not been fulfilled, in the Jews inhabiting that kingdom? Whether many of their stock, whom Emanuel detained in Portugal, have not been transported since into America? or whether many of the Spanish colonies have not a mixture of Jewish progeny in them? Nay, who knows, whether the West Indies were not discovered, partly, or especially for this purpose, that the sound of these preachers, unto whom God hath appointed no set diocese, might go out into all lands with the sun, and their words unto the ends of the world, until they return unto the place whence they were scattered? But these conjectures I leave to be confuted or confirmed by future times, desirous to prosecute briefly some observations of forepast miseries, not yet ended.

4. As God's judgments upon this people have had no end, so neither have the grounds or motives of Christian belief any limits; every degree of their fall is a step unto our rising. Enough it were to condemn the whole Christian world of infidelity, if it should not be rapt with admiration of God's mercy towards us, as it is manifested only in his severity towards them. But if, unto their perpetual grievous calamities here recounted, we add their like continual stubbornness of heart, we shall prove ourselves more stiffnecked than this people itself, unless we take up Christ's yoke and follow him; under which only we shall find that ease and rest unto our souls, which they have wanted ever since his death, and, without repentance, must want everlastingly. Angels, men, and devils, yea all the world, may clearly see, that the God of their fathers hath cast them off; that they have borne no signs or badges of his ancient wonted favours, whilst innumerable grievous marks and scars of his fearful indignation

against their fathers still remain unhealed in the children, after more generations, than their ancestors' seat of prosperity had been in the promised land. And yet even these latter, as all the former, since their scattering thence, continue their boastings of their prerogatives, as if they were his only chosen people. A grievous distemper of body and mind hath run in their blood for almost 1600 years; the children still infected with their father's disease; all raving and talking, like men in a phrensy, as if they were wisdom's first-born, and heirs of happiness. This their unrelenting stubbornness is an irrefragable argument, that they are the degenerate seed of faithful Abraham. For stubbornness is but a strong hope malignified, or (as we say) grown wild and out of kind. If the scripture had not described his nature and quality with his name, we might have known by these modern Jews, that their first progenitor had been a man of strong hopes, against all hopes in the sight of men: but these go further, continuing stiff in their persuasions of God's favour towards them, contrary unto the grounds of hopes, either in the sight of God or man, insolent in confidence, even whilst they are at the very brink of deepest despair. Abraham looked for a son, after the chiefest strength of his body was decayed, and Sarah his wife by course of nature past all possibility of conceiving: but his hopes were assuredly grounded upon His faithfulness which had promised the same: these hope for a Messiah, after the fulness of time is past and gone, and their country, being the land of his nativity, covered with barrenness and desolation; without all grounds of hope, quite contrary to the predictions of God's prophets, whom they believe in gross; after 148 whose meaning, they grope as palpably now in the sunshine of their Messiah's glory, already revealed, as

A comparison of the modern Jews' stubbornness with the steadfastness of Abraham's faith.

if it were in Egyptian darkness. Yet even the fulness of that joy, which most of them do look for in the days of their Messiah, (were their hopes of his coming as probable as they are impossible,) could not in reason support any other men's nature, to sustain that perpetual violence, disgrace, and torture, which they endure throughout so many successions, in this wearisome time of their expectation. Abraham was approved of God, for his readiness to sacrifice his son Isaac at his command. These his degenerate sons have crucified the Son of Abraham's God; and for their infidelity and disobedience have been cast out of that good land, which was given to Abraham and his righteous seed; and for their stubbornness in like practices, their posterity continue exiles and vagabonds from the same, not to this day willing to offer up the sacrifice of a contrite heart, for their disobedience past, but rather (adding thirst to drunkenness) bless themselves, when they hear the words of that curse promising peace unto themselves, though they walk on according to the stubbornness of their forefathers' hearts[m]. Their own desires they will not break. But Christian children they can be well content to sacrifice, kill, and mangle throughout all ages[n], wheresoever they come, as their often practices in England, France, and Germany witness; and the Jews of Lincoln, executed at London for this crime, did confess to be a solemn practice, as oft as they could conveniently come by their prey. Thus out of the mouths of infants and children will God have his praise erected still: their blood hath

[m] Deut. xxix. 19.

[n] Vide Socratem, lib. 7. cap. 16. Krantzium, lib. 10. Wandalorum, c. 18. Papirium Masson. lib. 3. p. 335. ex Villaneo. Vide Holinshed, an. 40. Hen. III. et alibi. At Prague in the year 1240. (or thereabout) they crucified a Christian. Die sacra Parasceues Krantzius, lib. 7. Wandalorum, c. 40.

sealed, and their cries proclaimed the truth of our Saviour's words, that these Jews *are of their father the Devil, and the lusts of their father they will do.* John viii. 44. *He was a murderer from the beginning,* and always delighted much in such sacrifices as were most displeasing unto God.

5. If Christian sobriety did not teach us to acknowledge God's judgments always just, although the manner of his justice cannot be apprehended, much less exemplified to ordinary capacities, by the wisest of the sons of men; the consideration of these Jews' perpetual temper would half persuade us, that the souls of such, as had either procured, consented unto, or approved our Saviour's and his apostles' death, had been sent from hell by course, into the bodies of these Jews here scattered in these western parts, as so many messengers from the dead, to shew the malignant heat of those everlasting flames, by their unquenchable thirst of innocent blood. But neither doth scripture warrant, nor natural reason enforce such suppositions, either for acquitting God's severity upon this people from injustice, or his goodness from suspicion of being the author of their villainous minds, though he be the sole Creator, as well of theirs as their godly forefathers' souls. For these their wicked posterity's plagues are just, because their souls, which he hath made, will not receive correction by their own or their fathers' plagues continually inflicted upon them since our Saviour's death; but still, as it were, hunt out God's judgments, which lie perpetually in wait for them, by treading in their ungracious predecessors' steps. In one word, though the God of their fathers have made their souls; yet they make pride of heart, inveterate custom, examples of their progenitors, their God. For us Christians, let us ad- 149
mire the wisdom of our gracious God, that so disposeth

our enemies' mischievous minds unto our good; rather than inquire, how their villainies can stand with his justice. This their unsatiable desire of crucifying them, unto whom the kingdom of heaven belongs, doth confirm our faith, in that main article of their fathers' crucifying the Lord of glory. And no doubt but God, in his all-seeing wisdom, hath permitted the like hellish temper to remain in all generations of these Jews, that the former most horrible, and otherwise almost incredible act, with the actors' devilish malice, might be more lively and sensibly represented to all posterities, which had not seen or known them by experience. And God's judgments upon these modern Jews, for their forefathers' sins, hereby may appear most just, in that they make them their own by imitation: plainly testifying to the world, that they would do as their forefathers had done, if the same tragedy of Christ's passion were to be acted over again; yea, inasmuch as they practise the like upon his living members, they are guilty, as well as their forefathers, of his death.

6. Generally, the outward carriage and inward temper of these modern Jews are such, as all that have any experience of them, may perceive the excellent qualities of their worthy progenitors, and the extraordinary prerogatives whence they are fallen, as sensibly and undoubtedly, as we can know by the lees, or corrupt remainder of any liquor, what the virtue and strength thereof was in its prime. The present depression of this people, below all others amongst whom they live, rightly taken, doth give us the true excess of their exaltation, in former times above the nations, as perfectly as the elevation of the pole which we see, doth give us the degrees of the other's occultation. Finally, if we compare the estate of such as lived in Tully's times, with these modern Jews' estate lately men-

tioned; the great prosperity of their ancestors under Joshua, Judges, David, and Solomon, may be gathered from these differences as exactly and as clearly as the third proportionable number out of two others already known. This is that golden rule, whose practice I would commend to all young students. For, from the known differences of their estate from time to time, we may be led unto the perfect knowledge of God's power and providence, of his mercy and bounty to such as love him, of his judgments upon such as hate him and transgress his laws. Finally, nothing in scripture can seem incredible, if men would consider the wonderful exaltation and depression of this people.

7. [1]This admirable difference between the true Israelites of old, and these modern perfidious Jews, is most lively represented unto us in that parable of divers figs, which Jeremiah saw, Jerem. xxiv. 1, 2. *The Lord shewed me, and, behold, two baskets of figs were set before the temple of the Lord—one basket very good figs, like the figs that are first ripe: and the other very naughty figs, which could not be eaten, they were so evil.* No man, I hope, will challenge me, for extending this text beyond its literal sense. One part of which, by the prophet's own exposition, is to be understood of such as were led captive by Nebuchadnezzar, signified by the good figs: the other of Zedekiah, with the residue of Hierusalem, and them that dwelt in the land of Egypt, represented by the bad figs. My prophet indeed applies it only unto them of his 150
own time; of whom I confess it was literally meant: but not, only of them; but more principally, more fully and directly, of the Jews, about or since our Saviour's time, and his apostles or their followers. The parable, with the consequence thereof, is true of both;

[1] Vide Ezech. vi.

inasmuch as both are particulars, contained under that general division, which [m] Moses had made of blessings and cursings to befall this people in divers measures, according to their constancy in good, or stubbornness in evil. Unto this general prediction, the prophets do still frame their prophecies, as corollaries or appendices; and so must they be applied by us, not only to the present times wherein they wrote, but to the times of the Messiah, in which both Moses his general, and the prophets' particular prophecies were more fully accomplished, than in any age before. That which Jeremy in the third verse of that same chapter said of the figs, was true of this people in all ages: The good amongst them were very good, the naughty always very naughty: but the difference greater betwixt the better sort of the ancient, and the worse of latter, than betwixt the best and worst of such as lived in the middle age; greatest of all betwixt the good and bad in our Saviour's time, or immediately after. These words again of the prophet, verse 6 and 7, are altogether as literally, more peculiarly meant of Christ's apostles and disciples, than of Nehemiah and Zerubbabel, and the rest which returned from the captivity of Babylon: *For I will set mine eyes upon them for good, and I will bring them again to this land: and I will build them, and I will plant them, and not root them out. And I will give them a heart to know me, that I am the Lord: and they shall be my people, and I will be their God: for they shall return unto me with their whole heart.* So is that curse, verse 9, 10, more fully verified of the Jews, about or after our Saviour Christ's time, than of Zedekiah, and his complices: *I will even give them for a terrible plague to all the kingdoms of the earth, and for a reproach and for a proverb, for a*

[m] Vide supra, cap. 22, paragr. 6, page 170.

common talk, and for a curse in all places, where I shall cast them. And I will send the sword, the famine, and the pestilence among them, till they be consumed out of the land that I gave unto them and to their fathers. In like sort I must needs with all orthodoxal antiquity, not contradicted for more than a thousand years, acknowledge the Psalmist's prayer, Ps. lix. to have been more directly meant, at least more notably fulfilled, in the Jews of later times, than of his enemies amongst whom he lived; *Slay them not, O God, lest my people forget it; but scatter them abroad by thy power, and put them down, O Lord our shield, for the sin of their mouth, and the words of their lips; and let them be taken in their pride, even for their perjury and lies which they speak.* The infallible grounds of thus interpreting these two places, and the like, shall be fortified (God willing) when I come unto the prophecies concerning Christ's incarnation, passion, or exaltation; my warrant at this time, for the latter here alleged, shall be the end of the Psalmist's wish, verse 13, *Consume them in thy wrath, consume them, that they be no more: and let them know that God ruleth in Jacob unto the ends of the world.* Their strange massacres in these ends of the world, whither they have been scattered, do better confirm our faith of God's providence, and mercy towards us, than David's enemies' exile and scattering, did his people, of God's favour towards him and them. And it is to be observed, that he saith not, *Let them know in Jacob, that God* 151
ruleth unto the ends of the world. For we the adopted sons of Abraham, though living in these extreme parts of the world, which he never knew, are the true Jacob; and the natural sons of Abraham according to the flesh, though living in the promised land, have no inheritance in Jacob; all are Jews. So doth he, which

sits upon the circles of the heavens, weigh all the kingdoms of the earth as in a balance, debasing some, and advancing others at his pleasure: and so doth the light of his gracious countenance towards any land or people, change or set, in revolution of times, as the aspect of stars doth unto such as compass the earth. And yet, as the same observation of the sun's motion from contrary tropics to the line, serveth our English in summer, and the navigators of opposite climes in winter; so is the same light of God's countenance, which shone upon the Jews, before, turned to the Gentiles, after the fulness of time. Abraham had the promise of Canaan often renewed unto him; but neither he nor his posterity possessed it, until the fulness of the Canaanites' iniquity were accomplished. We Gentiles had the promises of being engrafted into Israel, as it were, conveyed unto us in the building of the second temple, and afterwards renewed in the translation of these sacred writings (the instruments of our inheritance) into the Greek tongue, but were not partakers of the blessings of Jacob, until the iniquity of Abraham's posterity, according to the flesh, was full. Again, as the Canaanites were not utterly destroyed, albeit the Israelites were commanded so to do; but some relics were reserved in the promised land to a good purpose, by the wisdom of God: so neither were these Jews utterly extinguished, but a remnant was scattered abroad amongst the Gentiles, that they might know God's mercy towards them by his judgments upon the other; and though Christian princes have oft received them, upon as unjust respects, as the Israelites did permit the Canaanites to dwell amongst them, yet God hath still rectified their error, and turned their evil imaginations to the great good of his chosen. God's favours towards them of old, and of us of late, might be thus

God's favours to the ancient Israelites paralleled by like blessings upon the Gentiles.

paralleled in many points: and as Moses made nothing about the ark, but according to the fashion that was shewed him in the mount[n]; so is there no event or alteration of moment under the gospel, but had a pattern in the Law and Prophets. The celestial observations which were taken for these Israelites' good, might continually serve for the direction of the Gentile, if he would observe the several signs of divers ages, as mariners use divers constellations in divers latitudes, and gaze not always upon the same pole. The ignorance in discerning *the signs of times*[o] was a symptom of the Jew's hypocrisy, and cause of his continual shipwreck in faith. For suffering the fulness of time (where he and the Gentiles should have met as at the equator) to pass away without correction of his course, or due observation of the sudden change of heaven's aspect; he lost the sight of his wonted signs, and since wanders up and down, as mariners destitute of their card, deprived of all sight, either of sun, moon, or stars: or rather, like blind men groping their way without any ocular direction: yet even this their blindness is or may be a better light and direction unto us, than their wonted sight and skill in scriptures could afford us. First, this might teach the wisest amongst us, *not to be high minded, but fear;* seeing wisdom hath perished from the wisest of mankind, even from God's own chosen people. Secondly, this palpable blind obstinacy, which hath befallen Israel, might persuade us Christians (were not we blind also) to use that method, which God himself did think most fit, for planting true faith in tender hearts. Christian parents, whether bodily or spiritual, should be as care-

The Jews' blindness is an especial light unto the Gentiles. 152

[n] Exod. xxv. 40. Heb. viii. 5. [o] Matt. xvi. 3. Luke xii. 54.

ful to instruct their children what the Lord had done unto these Jews, as the Israelites should have been, to tell their sons what God had done unto Pharaoh. His hardness of heart was nothing to their stubbornness; Egyptian darkness was as noontide to their blindness; all the plagues and sores of Egypt were but fleabitings to God's fearful marks upon these Jews: yet is all this come upon them, that *the fulness of the Gentiles might come in*[p]. With a more mighty hand hath God brought us out of the shadow of death, and dominions of Satan, than he brought the Israelites out of Egypt, out of the house bondage: with a more powerful and harder stretched out arm, hath he scattered these Jews among all people, from the one end of the world to the other, than he brought the frogs, flies, and caterpillars into Egypt. *And it should be as a token in our hands, and as frontlets between our children's eyes, that the Lord hath redeemed us through a mighty hand*[q]. When Israel departed out of Egypt, the Egyptian did not furnish him with weapons for his defence, or apologies for his departure. These Jews scattered abroad, are made such messengers as Uriah was of their own destruction, bearing records against themselves, but sealed up from their sight; holding Moses their chief accuser in greatest honour; or to follow that faithful follower of Christ, S. Augustine, in his similitude to this purpose: although these Jews be desperately blind themselves, yet they carry those looking-glasses before them, which long since put out their eyes by their too much gazing on them, so as now they can hold them only in their hands, or turn their faces towards them, not able to discern their misshapen visages in them; but we Gentiles which come

p Rom. xi. 25. q Exod. xiii. 9, 14, 16.

after them, do herein go before them, that we may clearly see their deformity and hideous blindness, first caused by the glorious beams of the Divine majesty shining in these sacred fountains, whilst they used them (as Narcissus did his well, or little babes do books with fair pictures) only to solace themselves with representation of their godly forefathers' beauty, set out in them in freshest colours; not as looking-glasses to discover, much less to reform what was amiss in themselves, whom they in the pride of their hearts still presumed to be in all points like their worthy ancestors.

8. If unto all their miseries throughout so many ages, we add their perpetual stupidity and deadness of heart to all works of the Spirit; if to this again we add their incomparable zeal and courage, in preserving the letter of the law; and lay all unto our hearts: what is it we can imagine *the Lord could have done unto his vineyard, that he hath not done to it*[r]? He hath commanded the clouds not to rain upon the natural branches, that the abundant fatness of the root might be wholly communicate to us Gentiles, by nature wild grafts. He hath laid his vineyard in Israel waste, and left the hill of Sion, his wonted joy, more desolate than the mountains of Gilboah, that the dew of all his 153
heavenly blessings might descend upon the valleys of the nations. Let us not therefore tempt the Lord our God, in asking further signs for confirmation of our faith: for no sign can be given us equivalent to this desolation of the Jews. Such as the days of Jerusalem were in her distress, such we know (but how far more grievous, we cannot conceive) the day of judgment shall be; even a day of wrath, and a day of vengeance; an end of days, and an end of comfort; a be-

The desolation of the Jews the most effectual sign for confirming C tian

[r] Esa. v. 4. 6.

ginning of an endless night of sorrow, troubles, woe, and miseries to the wicked[s]. Such as the condition of these Jews hath been, for more than fifteen hundred years; such shall the state of unbelievers be without end, without all rest or security from danger, disgrace, and torture, ten thousand times more dreadful and insufferable, than what the other at any times have feared or felt. What else hath been verified of them as in the type, must be fulfilled in unbelievers, as in the body or substance. These shall fear both night and day, and shall have no assurance of their life; but in stead thereof, an inevitable perpetuity of most grievous death. *In the morning they shall say, Would God it were evening; and at evening they shall say, Would God it were morning;* and wish that time might be no more, or that no days of joy had ever been; that all their mirth had been exchanged for sorrow, even whilst it was first conceived within their breast, that so no memory of sweet delights or pleasures past might add gall unto the bitterness of their present grief, nor minister oil unto that unquenchable flame wherein they fry. Thus much of God's extraordinary mercies and judgments towards these Jews, and of the experiments which their estate from time to time hath afforded for the establishing of our assent to scriptures.

9. Particular judgments upon any land or people, as remarkable and perspicuous to common sense, as heretofore have been, we are not in this age to expect. The approach of this general and fearful judgment, we may justly think, doth swallow up the most of them, as great plagues usually drink up all other diseases. The conversion of these Jews we may probably expect, as the chief sign of later times; only this last part of

[s] Levit. xxvi. 44.

Moses' prophecy, Leviticus, chap. xxvi. 44, hath not been as yet fulfilled, but must be in due time, for so he saith; *Yet notwithstanding this,* (even all the plagues and curses which he had threatened, and we have seen fulfilled in these Jews,) *when they shall be in the land of their enemies, I will not cast them away, neither will I abhor them, to destroy them utterly, and to break my covenant with them: for I am the Lord their God. But I will remember for them the covenant of old, when I brought them out of the land of Egypt, that I might be their God: I am the Lord.* And the continuation of their former plagues seemeth much interrupted, the plagues themselves much mitigated, in this last age, (since the gospel hath been again revealed,) as if their misery were almost expired, and the day of their redemption drawing nigh. Yet would I request such as with me hold their general conversion, before the end of all things, as a truth probably grounded on God's word; not to put that evil day far from them, as if it could not take them unawares, until God's promise to this people be accomplished. For (were that the point now in hand) I 154
could, methinks, as probably gather out of scriptures, that their conversion shall be sudden, as at all; and such as many parts of the world shall not so soon hear of, by authentic reports or uncontrollable relation, as sensibly see at our general meeting before our Judge.

10. Like experiments might be drawn from the revolutions or alterations of other states, ofttimes wrought by such causes as are without the reach of policy, but most consonant to the rules of scriptures; or from the verification of such rules, in God's judgments upon private persons. But these observations cannot be made so evident to ordinary readers, before the doctrine of God's providence be unfolded. Wherefore I must refer

them partly to that place, partly to others of my labours, which have been most plentiful in this argument. Only that mutation in our deliverance from the servitude of the Romish church may not be omitted. For if we compare it with the Israelites' departure out of Egypt, the manner of God's providence exemplified at large by Moses in the former, is as a perfect rule to discern the same power in the latter; and the fresh experiment of the latter confirms unto our consciences the truth of the history concerning the former. God from the spoils of the Egyptians furnished the Israelites with all things necessary for their journey; the same God had revived the study of tongues, and revealed the art of printing, a little before our forefathers departed out of Babylon, that they should not come away empty, but well furnished to wage war with their enemies, whom they had robbed of their chief jewels, leaving small store of polite literature, or skill in scriptures amongst them; though they have increased their faculties that way since. If we diligently view the disposition of God's providence before those times, we cannot but acknowledge that it was the same power that first caused light to shine out of darkness, which then renewed the face of the earth again, and brought the light of ingenious and sacred literature forth of the chaos of barbarity, obscurity, and fruitless curiosity, wherein it had been long enclosed. It is, methinks, a pleasant contemplation, to observe how the worthies of the age precedent did bestir themselves in gathering and dressing armour, not used for many hundred years before, no man knowing for what purpose, until the great Commander of heaven and earth gives out his commission to the captains of his host, for invading his enemy, the man of sin. Little did that noble, religious, and learned king Alphonsus, or Laurentius de

A parallel of the Israelites' deliverance from Egyptian, and ours from Rome Babylonish thraldom.

Medicis, with such like, think of Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, Bucer, Melancthon, or other champions' departure from the Romish church, when they gave such countenance to polite learning and learned men, from whom these had their skill: yea, these men themselves, and their fellows, did little think of such projects, as God by them after effected, when they first began to use those weapons by which they finally foiled their mighty adversaries. Again, we have as it were a fresh print of God's dealing with Pharaoh, in his like proceedings against the pope. Pharaoh being delivered over to the stubbornness of his own heart, had it so hardened at last, that he desperately loseth both life and kingdom, whilst he wrangles with the Israelites for their cattle. The pope's heart likewise was so far hardened for his former pride, and so strangely besotted with the sweetness of his own cup, that he cannot 155
forego the very dregs, but will have all swallowed down, even indulgences themselves; that so the Lord's name might be glorified in his shameful overthrow. Unless it had been for such a notorious and palpable blindness of heart, in retaining that more than heathenish and idolatrous abomination; the just causes of Luther's revolt had not been so manifest to the world, nor others' departure from the Romish church so general. All this, as it was the Lord's doing, so ought it to seem wonderful in our eyes. For in this our deliverance was manifested the selfsame power, wisdom, and providence, for the steadfast acknowledment of which, all the former miracles in Egypt had been wrought; then necessary to the Israelites, but not to our forefathers, who had believed the truth of Moses' miracles; instructed by the rules of God's providence in them manifested, to discern the same infinite power and wisdom in their own deliverance: the manner of which

was truly miraculous, as Chemnitius[s] well answered the papist Jew-like requiring signs or miracles for Luther's doctrine, which had the same signs to confirm it, that Christianity itself first had:

Vir sine vi ferri, vi verbi, et inermibus armis,
Vir sine re, sine spe, contudit orbis opes.

Sans dint of sword, by strength of word,
And armless harmless pains;
A wealthless wight, hopeless in sight,
Hath crashed Rome's golden veins.

11. Luther's success was apprehended by the worldly-wise men of those times as impossible, as the predictions of Pharaoh's overthrow by Moses would have been to such in that age as knew not the will or power of God. And Albertus Krantzius[t], a man as of an excellent spirit, so of far greater place and authority in Germany than Luther was, and one, that from as earnest detestation of the Romish church's pride and insolences, notified as great a desire of reformation as Luther had; yet thought he should but have lost his

[s] Interim si pontificii omnino cum Judæis signum habere velint, accipiant hoc, quod nos summi miraculi loco habemus, unicum virum eumque miserum monachum, absque omni mundana vi, Romanorum pontificum tyrannidem, quæ tot seculis non tantum potentissimis regibus, sed et toti orbi formidabilis fuit, oppugnasse, prostravisse superasse, juxta elegantissimos versiculos: Harmon. Evangel. cap. 5.

[t] Dolebat sanctissimo viro non solum vitam eorum, quibus religionis confessio mandata erat, nefariis sceleribus inquinari, sed serpere etiam in religionem maximos errores. Ideo de illis evertendis plurimum laborabat: sed quod tandem videret papæ authoritatem, quousque processisset, et diffideret, ne unus homo tanto negotio par esset, de seipso spem abjecit, et optavit, ut omnes docti viri conjunctis studiis papam in ordinem redigerent. Idem dixit, quum paulo ante mortem, infirmus, Lutheri propositiones de indulgentiis vidisset, Lutherum in bonam causam ingressum esse, sed unius homuncionis vires nihil valere ad tantam pontificis potentiam infringendam, quæ nimium invaluisset. Et lecti et approbatis propositionibus Lutheri, exclamasse fertur, Frater, &c. Johan. Wolf. in præfat. ad Krantzii opera.

labour in oppugning that greatness whereto it was grown. The same bishop, a little before his death being made acquainted with Luther's purpose, after approbation of his good intents to reform the abuse of indulgences, burst out into these despairing speeches of his good success: *Frater, frater, abi in cellam, et dic; Miserere mei, Deus.* "Brother, brother, get into thy cell, and take up a psalm of mercy."

12. Would God the incredulity and careless carriage of the Israelites after their mighty deliverance, had not been too lively represented by the like in most reformed 156
churches. When that generation *was gathered to their fathers*, would God another had not risen after them, *which neither knew the Lord, nor the works which he had done for Israel*, Judg. ii. 10; a generation as much addicted unto sacrilege, as abhorring idols, Rom. ii. 22; dishonouring God by polluting that law of liberty wherein they gloried.

LIB. I. SECT. IV. PARS II.

Of Experiments in ourselves, and the right framing of Belief, as well unto the several Parts, as unto the whole Canon of Scriptures.

THOUGH these we now treat of be the surest pledges of Divine truths, without which all observations of former experiments are but like assurances well drawn but never sealed; yet are they least of all communicable unto others. He that hath tried them may rejoice in them, as of that *good treasure* hid in the field, which he that hath found can be content to sell all that he hath, and buy the field wherein it is; that is, (to moralize that parable for good students' use,) he can be content to addict himself wholly or principally unto this study, suffering others to discourse of such matters as they most delight and glory in; sealing his own

mouth with that Hebrew proverb, *Secretum meum mihi.* It shall suffice, then, to set down some general admonitions for the finding of this hidden manna: albeit thus much cannot be so well performed in this place, seeing the search hereof is not so easy or certain without the doctrine of God's providence; and the matter or subject of the most or best experiments in this kind belong unto particular articles of this creed, to be prosecuted in their proper place, according to the method used in these general introductions, by comparing Divine oracles with the experiments answerable unto them.

CHAP. XXXI.

Shewing the Facility and Use of the proposed Method by Instance in some, whose Belief unto Divine Oracles hath been confirmed by Experiments answerable unto them.

157 1. THE method is such as the simplest Christian may easily learn, and the greatest professors need not to contemn. For St. Peter himself, that great doctor of the circumcision, did profit much by this practice. He had often heard, that God was no accepter of persons. This truth was acknowledged by Elihu, who had never heard nor read the written law of God: *He accepteth not the person of princes, and regardeth not the rich more than the poor: for they be all the work of his hands*[u]. The like hath the Wise Man from the same reason: *He that is Lord over all will spare no person, neither shall he fear any greatness: for he hath made the small and great, and careth for all alike*[x]. The same in substance is often repeated in the Book of Life: and no man could deny it, that had heard it but once proposed, if he did acknowledge God for the Creator of all. Notwithstanding the fresh experiment of God's calling Cornelius to Christian faith,

St. Peter's belief of known oracles confirmed by experiment.

[u] Job xxxiv. 19. [x] Wisd. vi. 7.

confirmed St. Peter in the right belief of Divine oracles to this effect: and as it seems, taught him the true meaning of that place, Deut. x. 16: *Circumcise therefore the foreskin of your heart,* (as if he had said, Glory not in the circumcision of the flesh,) *and harden your necks no more. For the Lord your God is God of gods, and Lord of lords, a great God, mighty, and terrible, which accepteth no persons.* From this place alone the proud Jews might have learned, that the Lord was God of the Gentiles as well as of them; and from the abundance of his inward faith, enlarged by the forementioned experiment, St. Peter burst out into these speeches: *Of a truth I perceive that God is no accepter of persons: but in every nation he that feareth him is accepted with him*[y].

2. The same method the Lord himself hath commended unto us in many places of scripture, wondering ofttimes at the dulness of his people's hearts, that could not from the experiments of his power, might, and majesty, shewed in them, or for them, acknowledge those principles of faith which Moses commended unto them in writing: *O,* saith he, *that they were wise, then would they understand this; they would consider their latter end! How should one chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight, except their strong God had sold them, and the Lord had shut them up?* And again, *Behold now, for I am he, and there is no gods with me*[z]. Why should they believe this? They were to take none for gods, but such as could do the works of God. What were these? Such as God avoucheth of himself in the next word: *I kill, and I give life; I wound, and I make whole: neither is there any that can deliver out of my hand.* These, and like effects, specified in the former place, often manifested

[y] Acts x. 34. [z] Deut. xxxii. 29, 30. 39.

amongst this people, might have taught them the truth of the former oracle, albeit Moses had been silent. For so the finger of God, manifested in Naaman the Syrian general's cure, (which was but one part of the former effects appropriated unto God,) did write this Divine oracle as distinctly in his heart, as Moses had done it in the book of the law. For after he was cleansed (from his leprosy), *he turned again to the man of God, he and all his company, and came and stood before him; and said, Behold, now I know there is no God in all the world, but in Israel*[a]. And again, *Thy servant will henceforth offer neither burnt sacrifice nor offering unto any other God, save unto the Lord*[b]. This was as much as if he had said, *Behold now, for the Lord is he, and there is no other God with him: he woundeth, and he maketh whole*[b].

Naaman without the written word, by experiment, confirmed in the truth of what was written in the word.

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3. If the cure of leprosy, contrary to human expectation, could so distinctly write this Divine oracle in an uncircumcised Aramite's heart, without any pattern or written copy, whence to take it out; how much more may the Lord expect, that the like experiments in ourselves should imprint his oracles already written, by Moses and other his servants of old, in our hearts and consciences, that have these patterns of Naaman and others registered to our hands, admonishing us to be observant in this kind! But alas! we are all by nature sick of a more dangerous leprosy than Naaman knew; and yet the most of us far sicker of Naaman's pride than of his leprosy. If God's ministers shall admonish the curious artists or Athenian wits of our times, as Elisha his prophet did Naaman; they reply with Naaman in their hearts; "We looked they should have called upon the name of the Lord their God, and made us new men in an instant: and now they bid us

[a] 2 Kings v. 15. [b] Ver. 17.

wash ourselves again and again in the water of life, and be clean. Are not the ancient fountains of Greece, (that nurse of arts, and mother of eloquence,) and the pleasant rivers of Italy, (the school of delicate modern wits,) better than all the waters of Israel? Are not Tully and Aristotle as learned as Moses and the prophets?" Thus they depart from us in displeasure.

4. But if the Lord should command us greater things for our temporal preferment, or for the avoidance of corporal death or torture, would we not do them? How much rather then, when he saith unto us, Wash yourselves often in the holy fountain, the well of life, and ye shall be clean, even from those sores which otherwise will torment both body and soul eternally! Yea, but many read the scriptures again and again, and daily hear the word preached publicly, and yet prove no purer in life and action than their neighbours. The reason is, because they hear or read them negligently; not comparing their rules with experiments daily incident to their course of life: their preparation and resolution are not proportionable to the weight and consequence of this sacred business; their industry and alacrity in observing and practising the prescripts commended to their meditations by their pastors, do in no wise so far exceed their care and diligence in worldly matters, as the dignity of these heavenly mysteries surpasseth the pleasures or commodities of this brickle earthly life: and not thus prepared to hear or read the scriptures, to hear is to contemn; to read is to profane them: even the often repetition of the words of life, without due reverence and attention, breeds an insensibility or deadness in men's souls. Yet should not such men's want of sense breed infidelity in others: rather this experience of so much hearing, and little doing God's will, may confirm the

truth of his word concerning such teachers and hear-
159 ers: many in our times, not monks and friars only, but of their stern opposites not a few, *having a show of godliness, but denying the power thereof, crept into houses, and led captive simple women, laden with sins, and led with divers lusts, ever hearing and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth*[c]. And as the philosopher said of his moral auditors' indocility, that it skilled not whether he were young or of youthful affections; so it is not the difference of sex but resolution, that makes a good scholar or non-proficient in the school of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Many men have weak and womanish, and many women, manly and heroic resolutions, towards God and godliness.

Better effects of experiments less wonderful in Anna.

5. The infirmity which vexed the religious Hannah was not so grievous as that of Naaman: she was in our corrupt language, as many honest women at this day are, by nature barren; or, if we would speak as the prophet did in the right language of Canaan, *the Lord had made her barren:* weary she was of her own, and, according to the ordinary course of nature, she saw no hope of being the author of life to others. Yet in this her distress she prayed unto the Lord her God, and he granted her desire. From this experiment of God's power, though not altogether so remarkable in ordinary estimation as Naaman's cure, she fully conceives not only the truth of the former oracle, acknowledged by Naaman, (but more emphatically expressed by her, *There is none holy as the Lord; yea, there is none besides thee: and there is no god like our God*[d],) nor that other attribute only of wounding or making whole, (so lively uttered, ver. 6: *The Lord killeth, and maketh alive; bringeth down to the grave,*

[c] 2 Tim. iii. 5—7. [d] 1 Sam. ii. 2.

and raiseth up,) but God's word, planted in her heart by her fresh experience, grows up like a grain of mustard seed, and brancheth itself into a faithful acknowledgment of most of his attributes: *the Lord is a God of knowledge, and by him enterprises are established. The bow and the mighty men are broken, and the weak have girded themselves with strength. They that were full are hired forth for bread; and the hungry are no more hired: so that the barren hath borne seven; and she that hath borne many children is feeble. The Lord maketh poor, and maketh rich: bringeth low, and exalteth. He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth up the beggar from the dunghill, to set them among princes, and to make them inherit the seat of glory: for the pillars of the earth are the Lord's, and he hath set the world upon them. He will keep the feet of his saints, and the wicked shall be silent in darkness; for in his own might shall no man be strong.* Nor doth it contain itself within the bounds of ordinary belief, but works in her heart like new wine, filling it not only with songs of joy and triumph over her envious enemies; *Mine heart rejoiceth in the Lord, my mouth is enlarged over my enemies, because I rejoice in thy salvation:* but also with the Divine spirit of prophecy [e]; *The Lord's adversaries shall be destroyed; and out of heaven shall he thunder upon them: the Lord shall judge the ends of the world; and shall give power unto his king, and exalt the horn of his anointed.* Ver. 10.

6. The like docility was in the blessed Virgin, of whom perhaps Hannah was the type: both of them verified that saying, *Verbum sapienti sat est;* one experiment taught them more than five hundred would

Different operations of like experiments in divers parties, with their causes

[e] De prophetia Hannæ, vide Augustinum, lib. 17. De Civ. Dei, c. 4.

do most of us: the reason was, because their hearts were so much better prepared. For, as heat in some
160 bodies, by reason of the indisposition of the matter, causeth heat and nothing else; in some scarce that; in others brings forth life, and fashioneth all the organs and instruments thereof: so experiments of God's power, in some men's hearts, breed only a persuasion of his might or operation in that particular, as in those foolish Aramites[f], who, vanquished in battle by the Israelites, whom he favoured, questioned whether he were a God as well of the valleys as of the mountains; in others, the same or less apprehension of his power or presence, begetteth life, and fashioneth this image in their hearts, which thence will shew itself unto others in such ample and entire confession of his attributes, as Hannah and the blessed Virgin uttered. Some again are so ill disposed and indocile, that the whole moral law of God might sooner be engraven in hardest marble or flint, than any one precept imprinted in their hearts by such wonderful documents of his power, as would teach the godly in an instant both the Law and Prophets. Imagine some men in our days had been cured by like means of such a malady as Naaman was; or some women blessed from above with fruit of their wombs, after so long sterility as Hannah endured. Who could expect that one of ten in either sex should return to give like thanks to God, in the presence of his priests or prophets? Were Elisha now living, he must be wary to work his cure by his bare word; (and so perhaps he should be censured for a sorcerer;) in any case, he might not use the waters of Jordan, or other like second causes: otherwise curious wits would find out some hidden or secret virtue caused in them (at least for the time being) by some unusual

[f] 1 Kings xx. 23.

but benign aspect of some planet or constellation, in whose right they should be entitled either full owners or copartners of that glory, which Naaman ascribed wholly unto God. And poor Hannah, in this politic age, should not be so much praised for her devotion or good skill in Divine poesy, as pitied for a good, honest, well meaning silly soul, that did attribute more to God than was his due, upon ignorance of alterations wrought in her body by natural causes. For it is not the custom of our times to mark so much the ordering or disposition, as the particular or present operation of such agents. If any thing fall out amiss, we bid a plague upon ill fortune, or curse mischance: if aught aright, we applaud our own or others' wits that have been employed in the business, or perhaps thank God for fashion sake, that we had good luck. He is to us, in our good success, as a friend that lives far off; who, we presume, wisheth well to such projects as he knows in general we are about, being unacquainted with the particular means that must effect them, or no principal agent in their contrivance. Hence do I not marvel, (though many do,) if such men in our times as reap the fruits of the fields which God hath blest, in greatest abundance, make no conscience of returning the tenth part to him that gave the whole; when as not one of a thousand, either in heart or deed, or out of any distinct or clear apprehension of his power or efficacy, or true resolution of all effects into the first fountain whence they flow, doth attribute so much as the tenth, nay as the hundredth part, to God's doing in any event, wherein the industry of man or operation of second causes are apparent. We speak like Christians of matters past, recorded in scripture; but in our discourses of modern affairs, our paganisms and more than heathenish solecisms, bewray the infidelity of our thoughts 161

and resolutions. And albeit we all disclaim Manes' heresy, that held one creator of the matter, and another of more pure and better substances; yet are we infected, for the most part, with a spice of his madness, in making material agents the authors of some effects, and the Divine power, of others. Nor can I herein excuse the school-divines themselves, ancient or modern, domestic or foreign; the best of them (in my judgment) either greatly erred in assigning the subordination of second causes to the first; or else are much defective, in deriving their actions or operations immediately from him, who is the first and last in every action that is not evil, the only cause of all good unto men; as shall appear (God willing) in the article of his providence, and some other treatises pertinent unto it, wherein I shall, by his assistance, make good these two assertions: the one, that modern events, and dispositions of present times, are as apt to confirm men's faith now living, as the miracles of former would be, were they now in use, or as they were to instruct that age wherein they were wrought; the second, that the infidelity of such in this age, as are strongly persuaded they love Christ with their heart, and yet give no more than most men do unto his Father's providence, may be greater than theirs that never heard of either, or equal unto the Jews' that did persecute him.

General directions for the right making of experiments in ourselves.

7. Until the article of the Divine providence, and that other of the Godhead be unfolded, these general directions for experiments in this kind must suffice. First, that every man diligently observe his course of life, and survey the circumstances precedent or consequent to every action of greater importance that he undertakes, or events of moment that befall him. Secondly, that he search whether the whole frame or composition of occurrents be not such, as cannot be attributed to

any natural, but unto some secret and invisible cause; or whether some cause or occasions precedent be not such, as the scripture hath already allotted the like events unto. Would men apply their minds unto this study, experience would teach them, (what from enumeration of particulars may be proved by discourse,) "that there is no estate on earth, nor business in Christendom this day on foot, but have a ruled cause in scripture for their issue and success." Nor is there any prescript of our Saviour, his evangelists or apostles, but his people might have a *probatum* of it, either in themselves or others; so they would refer themselves wholly into his hands, and rely as fully upon his prescripts, as becomes such distressed patients upon so admirable a Physician.

8. But many who like well of Christ for their Physician, loathe his medicines for the ministers his apothecaries sake, and say of us, as Nathanael said of him; *Can there any good thing come from these silly Galileans?* They will not with Nathanael come near and see, but keep aloof. And what marvel, if spiritual diseases abound, where there be spiritual medicines plenty, when the flock, be they never so soul-sick, come only in such sort to their pastors, as if a sick man should go to a physic-lecture for the recovery of his health, where the professor, it may be, reads learnedly of the nature of consumptions, when the patient is desperately sick of a pleurisy; or discourses accurately of the plethora or athletical constitution, when his auditor (poor sool) languisheth of an atrophy? Most are ashamed to consult us (as good patients in bodily maladies always do their physicians) in any particulars concerning the nature of their peculiar griefs: so as we can apply no medicine to any but what may as well befit every disease. Whereas, were we through-

The causes why so many in our days have little or no experience of the truth of Divine oracles.

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ly acquainted with their several maladies, or the dispositions of their minds, the prescript might be such, or so applied, as every man might think the medicine had been made of purpose for his soul; and, finding his secret thoughts with the original causes of his malady discovered, the crisis truly prognosticated, he could not but acknowledge, that he who gave this prescript, and taught this art, did search the very secrets of men's hearts and reins, and knew the inward temper of his soul, better than Hippocrates or Galen did the constitution of men's bodies. Finally, would men learn to be true patients, that is, would they take up Christ's yoke, and become humble and meek, and observe but for a while such a gentle and moderate diet, as from our Saviour's practice and doctrine might be prescribed by their spiritual physicians upon better notice of their several dispositions, they would in short time, out of their inward experience of that uncouth rest and ease, which by thus doing their souls should find, believe with their hearts, and with their mouths confess, that these were rules of life, which could not possibly have come from any other, but from that Divine Æsculapius himself, the only Son, yea the wisdom of the only wise, invisible, and immortal God. The more unlikely the means of recovering spiritual health may seem to natural reason, before men try them, the more forcible would their good success and issue be, for establishing true and lively faith. But such as can, from these or like experiments, subscribe unto main particular truths contained in scripture, and acknowledge them as Divine, may be uncertain of their number or extent; doubt they may of the number of books wherein the like are to be sought: and again, in those books which are acknowledged to contain many Divine revelations and dictates of the Holy Spirit, they may doubt whether

many other prescripts, neither of like use nor authority, have not been inserted by men.

CHAP. XXXII. 163

Containing a brief Resolution of Doubts concerning the Extent of the general Canon, or the number of its integral Parts.

1. THE full resolution of the former doubt, or rather controversy, concerning the number of canonical books, exceeds the limits of this present treatise, and depends as much as any question this day controversed, upon the testimonies of antiquity. The order of Jesuits shall be confounded, and Reynolds raised to life again, ere his learned works, lately come forth upon this argument, (albeit unfinished to his mind, whilst he was living,) be confuted by the Romanists: or, if any of the Jesuitish society, or that other late upstart congregation, will be so desperate as to adventure their honour in Bellarmine, or other of their foiled champions' rescue, they shall be expected in the lists before they be prepared to entertain the challenge, by one of that deceased worthy's shield-bearers in his lifetime: whose judgment in all good learning I know for sound; his observation in this kind, choice; his industry great; his resolution to encounter all antagonists, such as will not relent. For satisfaction of the ordinary reader, I briefly answer,

2. First, that this is no controversy of faith, nor need it to trouble any Christian man's conscience, that we and the papists differ about the authority of some books; it rather ought to confirm his faith, that men disagreeing so much in many opinions, so opposite in their affections, should so well agree about the n
of no fewer than two and twenty canonica

the Old Testament. Had their authority only been human, or left to the choice of men, whether they should be allowed or rejected, many that now admit them would reject them, because opposite religions did embrace them. That all sorts of protestants, papists, and [g] Jews do receive them, is an infallible argument that he who is Lord of all did commend them to all. Nor doth our church so disclaim all which the Romans above these two and twenty admit, as if it were a point of faith to hold there were no more: it only admits no more into the same rank and order with the former, because we have no such warrant of faith, or sure experiments so to do. Many of them discover themselves to be apocryphal: and albeit some of them can very hardly, or not at all, be discerned for such by their style, character, or dissonancy to canonical scriptures; yet, that none of them indeed are or can be admitted for canonical, without manifest tempting of God, is evident from what hath been observed before, concerning God's unspeakable providence in making the blinded and perfidious Jews (Christ's and our bitterest enemies) such trusty feoffees for making over the assurances of life unto us. For seeing by them he commended unto us only so many books of the Old Testament as our church acknowledgeth;
164 this is an infallible argument that his will was, we should admit no more: had any more been written, before the reedifying of the temple by Zerubbabel, no doubt the Jews would have admitted them into their

[g] The testimonies of the ancient Israelites and modern Jews for the canon of the Old Testament is most authentic. For even those ancient Fathers which our adversaries allege to acknowledge some more books for canonical than our church doth; did it only upon this error, that they thought there had been more in the canon of the Hebrew, upon whose testimonies they relied; as will be made clear against the papists.

canon. For all such as should be written after, the prophet Malachi, who is the last of their canon, hath left this caveat in the last words of his prophecy for not admitting them; *Remember the law of Moses my servant, which I commanded to him in Horeb, in all Israel, with the statutes and judgments:* as if he had said, You must content yourselves with his writings, and such as you have already, consonant to his; for any others of equal authority you may not expect, until the expectation of the Gentiles come. For no prophet shall arise until that time, as he intimates in the last words, *Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and fearful day of the Lord: and he shall turn the hearts of the fathers unto the children, and the hearts of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with cursing.* The ministry of others for converting souls, he supposed should be but ordinary, by the exposition of the Law and Prophets: and the authority of such (writ they as much as they listed) could not be authentic or canonical.

3. Some others again of reformed churches in these our times, have from the example of antiquity doubted of the authority of some books in the New Testament; as of [i]Jude, of James, the Second of Peter, and some

[h] Consonant hereto is that, Matt. xi. 13. Lex et prophetæ ad Johannem, &c.; that is, their writings were the complete rule of faith, and infallible means of salvation until John. Yet can it not be proved, that any book held by our church for apocryphal, is contained either under the Law or Prophets, as the historical books of the Hebrew canon are. Evident it is, that the books of Judith and Maccabees were since Malachi's time: from whom till John no prophet was to be expected, but Moses' law (illustrated by events recorded in histories and prophetical commentaries till Malachi's time inclusive) was to be the immediate medium for discerning the great prophet. See lib. 2. c. 17. numb. 3. et 4. et l. 1. c. 17.

[i] The Divine authority of some books in the New Testament, especially the Apocalypse, doubted of by the ancient, brought to light in later times.

others. Which doubt is now diminished by their continuance in the sacred canon so long time, not without manifest documents of God's providence in preserving them, whose pleasure (it may seem) was to have these books, of whom the ancients most doubted, fenced, and guarded on the one side, by St. Paul's Epistles, and other canonical scriptures, (never called in question by any, but absurd and foolish heretics, whose humourous opinions herein died with themselves;) and on the other, by the book of the Apocalypse; of whose authority though many of the ancients, for the time being, doubted, yet he that was before all times did foresee, that it should in later times manifest itself to be his work, by events answerable to the prophecies contained in it. And albeit many apocryphal books have been stamped with Divine titles, and obtruded upon the church as canonical, whilst she was in her infancy, and the sacred canon newly constitute; yet the Divine Spirit, by which it was written, hath wrought them out, as new wine doth such filth or grossness as mingles with it whilst the grapes are trodden. St. John's adjuration in the conclusion of that book hath not only terrified all for adding unto, or diminishing itself; but hath been, as it were, a seal unto the rest of this sacred volume of the New Testament, as Malachi's prophecy was to the Old; the whole canon itself, consisting both of the Old and New, continues still as the ark of God, and all other counterfeits as Dagon.

165 4. Were not our Roman adversaries' doctrine concerning the general principles of faith, an invention devised of purpose by Satan to obliterate all print or impression of God's providence in governing his church, out of men's hearts; how were it possible for any man endued with reason, to be so far overgrown with phrensy, as not to conceive their own folly and madness, in

avouching we cannot know what books are canonical, what not, but by the infallible testimony of the present Romish church. But of those impieties at large hereafter. I will now only infer part of their conclusion, which they still labour, but never shall be able to prove, from premises which they never dreamt of. For I profess among others, this is not the least reason I have to hold the Apocalypse for canonical scripture, because the Romish church doth so esteem it. Nor could reformed churches' belief of its authority be so strong, unless that church had not denied, but openly acknowledged it for canonical scripture. As the same beams of the sun reach from heaven to earth, and from one end of the world to another; so do the same rays of God's power extend themselves from generation to generation, always alike conspicuous to such as are illuminate by his Spirit: for who, thus illuminate, can acknowledge his providence in making the Jews so careful to preserve the Old Testament, and not as clearly discern the same in constraining the Romish church to give her supposed infallible testimony of the Apocalypse? Doubtless, if that book had been the work of man, it had been more violently used by that church of late, than ever the New Testament hath been by the Jewish synagogue, or any heretic by the Romanists, seeing it hath said far more against them, than any whom they account for such ever did. But God, who made Pharaoh's daughter a second mother unto Moses, whom he had appointed to bring destruction afterwards upon her father's house and kingdom, hath made the Romish church of old a dry nurse to preserve this book, (whose meaning she knew not,) that it might bring desolation upon herself and her children in time to come. For by the breath of the Lord shall she be destroyed; her doom is already read by St. John,

Wherein the testimony of the Romish church in discerning some canonical books is most available.

and the Lord of late hath entangled her in her own snare, whilst she was drawing it to catch others. Her children's brags of their mother's infallibility, wherewith they hale most silly souls to them, were too far spread before the Trent council, too commodious to be called in on a sudden. Had they then begun to deny the authority of this book, (though then pronouncing their mother's woe more openly than any prophecies of old had done the ensuing desolations of the Jews,) every child could have caught hold on this string, that this church, (as they suppose,) always the same, never obnoxious to any error, had in former time acknowledged it for authentic and Divine: albeit no question but many of them since have wished from their hearts that their forefathers had used the same as Seraiah did Jeremiah's books, which he wrote against Babylon, Jer. li., that both it and all memory of it had been drowned in the bottom of the deepest sea, and a millstone thrown upon it by God's angel, that it never might rise up again to interrupt their whorish mother's beastly pleasures, by discovering her filthy nakedness
166 daily more and more. For conclusion of this point for this present: that this and other canonical books had been long preserved, or rather imprisoned by the Romish church in darkness and ignorance, until the Almighty gave his voice, and caused them to speak in every tongue, throughout these parts of the world; doth no more argue her to have been the true and catholic church, than Moses' education in Pharaoh's court, during the time of his infancy or nonage, doth argue the Egyptian courtiers to have been God's chosen people.

CHAP. XXXIII.

A brief Direction for preventing Scruples and resolving Doubts, concerning particular Sentences or Passages in the Canon of Scripture.

UNTO the second demand, How we know this or that sentence in any book of canonical scripture, to have been from God, not inserted by man? some perhaps would say, This must be known by the Spirit. Which indeed is the briefest answer that can be given: but such as would require a long apology for its truth, or at least a large explication in what sense it were true, if any man durst be so bold as to reply upon it. Consequently to our former principles, we may answer, That our full and undoubted assent unto some principal parts doth bind us unto the whole frame of scriptures. But you will say, We believe such special parts from undoubted experience of their truth in our hearts, and without this our belief of them could not be so steadfast: how then shall we steadfastly believe those parts, of whose Divine truth we have no such experiments? for of every sentence in scripture, we suppose few or none can have any: yet even unto those parts whereof we have no experiments in particular, we do adhere by our former faith, because our souls and consciences are as it were tied and fastened unto other parts wherewith they are conjoined, as the pinning and nailing of two plain bodies in some few parts, doth make them stick close together in all, so as the one cannot be pulled from the other in any part, whilst their fastening holds. It will be replied, That this similitude would hold together, if one part of canonical scripture were so firmly or naturally united to another, as the diverse portions of one and the same continuate or solid body are: but seeing it is evident

How our firm assent to some principal matters revealed in scriptures, tieth our faith unto their whole canon.

that so they are not, who can warrant the contrary, but that a sentence or period, perhaps a whole page, might have been foisted into the canon by some scribe or other? Here we must retire unto our first hold, or principles of faith. For if we steadfastly believe from experiments or otherwise, that some principal parts of scripture have come from God, and that the same are sure pledges for man's good, the only means of his salvation: this doctrine or experience of God's providence once fully established, will establish our faith and assent unto other parts of his word, whereof
167 (should we take them alone) we could have no such experiments. For he that knoweth God or his providence aright, knows this withal, that he will not *suffer us to be tempted above our strength.* And once having had experience of his mercies past, we cannot, without injury to his Divine Majesty, but in confidence of it, believe and hope, that his all-seeing wisdom and almighty power will still (maugre the spite of death, hell, Satan, and their agents) preserve his sacred word sincere, without admixture of any profane, false, or human inventions that might overthrow or pervert our faith begun. Hereto we may refer all former documents of his care and providence in preserving the canon of our faith from the tyranny of such as sought utterly to deface it; and the treachery of others, who sought to corrupt it. And it ought to be no little motive unto us thus to think, when we see Austin, Gregory, and other of the ancient writers, either maimed, or mangled, or purged of their best blood, where they make against the Romish church; or else her untruths fathered upon them by her shameless sons, in places where they are silent for her: and yet this sacred volume untouched and uncorrupt by any violence offered to it by that church; only it hath lost its natural

beauty and complexion by long durance in that homely and vulgar prison, whereunto they have confined it.

2. But as from these and like documents of God's care and providence in preserving it, and of his love and favour towards us, we conceive faith and sure hope, that he will not suffer us to be tempted with doubts of this nature above our strength: so must we be as far from tempting him, by these or like unnecessary, unseasonable, curious demands. How should we know this or that clause or sentence (if we should find them alone) to be God's word? Why might not an heretic of malice have forged, or a scribe through negligence altered them? It should suffice that they have been commended to us not alone, but accompanied with such oracles as we have already entertained for Divine. And if any doubt shall happen to arise, we must rely upon that oracle, of whose truth every true Christian hath, and all that would be such may have, sure trial. *Deus cum tentatione simul vires dabit:* "God with the temptation will give issue;" yea, joyful issue to such temptations as he suffers to be suggested by others, not unto such as we thrust ourselves into by our needless curiosity. When we are called unto the search of truth by Satan or his instruments' objections against it, the Lord will give us better reasons for our own or others' satisfactions, than yet we know of, or should be able to find, but by the conduct of his untempted providence.

CHAP. XXXIV. 168

Concluding the First Book with some brief Admonition to the Reader.

1. To conclude this treatise as it was begun. The greater the reward proposed to the faithful practice, or the punishment threatened to the neglect of these Di-

vine oracles; the greater is the madness of many men in our time, who in contemplative studies, whose principal end is delight, can undergo long toil and great pains, never attaining to exact knowledge but by believing their instructors, and taking many theorems and conclusions upon trust, before they can make infallible trial of their truth: and yet in matters of their salvation, which cannot be exactly known, but only believed in this life, and whose belief must be got by practice, not by discourse, demand evidence of truth, and infallible demonstration, before they will vouchsafe to believe or adventure their pains on their practice; and finally, so demean themselves in speech and resolution, as if God Almighty should think himself highly graced, and our Saviour, his Son, much beholden to them, that they should deign to be his scholars, sooner than Mahomet's or Machiavel's. But we that are his messengers must not debase his word, nor disparage our calling, by wooing them upon such terms, or professing to shew them the truth before they be willing to learn it: one first principle whereof is this, that such as will seek may find starting holes enough to run out of Christ's fold, and escape his mercies proffered in his church. And as many reasons are daily brought, sufficient to persuade a right disposed understanding of the truth of scriptures; so no argument can be found of force enough to convince a froward will, or persuade perverse affections. These are they which make a many altogether uncapable of any moral, most of all of any Divine truth; and must be laid aside at the first entrance into the school of Christ, and continually kept under by the rod of his judgments, and terrors of that dreadful day. Unto such as account these consequences less dreadful, or their dread less probable, than that they should (for a time at least) lay aside all per-

versity of will or humour of contradiction, to make sure trial of those Divine oracles for their good; we can apply no other medicine but that of St. John: *He that is filthy, let him be filthy still,* Rev. xxii. 11.

2. Thus much of general inducements to belief. In the observation and use of all these and others of what kind soever, we must implore the assistance of God's Spirit, who only worketh true and lively faith, but (ordinarily) by these or like means. These scriptures are as the rule or method prescribing us our diet and order of life; these experiments joined with it are as nutriment; and the Spirit of God digesteth all to our health and strength. Without it, all other means or matters, of best observation, are but as good meat to weak or corrupt stomachs: with it, every experiment of our own or others' estate, taken according to the rules of scripture, doth nourish and strengthen faith, and preserve our spiritual health. Many in our days uncessantly blame their brethren's backwardness to entertain the Spirit, or rely upon it only; being more 169
blameworthy themselves for being too forward in believing every spirit, and seeking to discern[k] canonical from apocryphal scriptures by the Spirit, and again to try true from false spirits by the scriptures, without serious observation and settled examination of experiments answerable unto sacred rules. Such men's fervent zeal unto the letter of the gospel, is like an hot stomach accustomed to light meats, which increase appetite more than strength, and fill the body rather with bad humours than good blood.

[k] This is that circle which the adversary opposeth as a countermine to us, whilst we seek to overthrow their circular belief. The objection may justly be retorted upon the enthusiast, but not on our church, as shall appear in the fourth section of the second book.

3. The Spirit no doubt speaks often unto us when we attend not; but we must not presume to understand his suggestions by his immediate voice or presence; only by his fruits, and the inward testimony of an appeased conscience, (which he alone can work,) must we know him. He that seeks (as Ignatius Loyola[1] taught his sons) to discern him without more ado, by his manner of breathing, may instead of him be troubled with an unwelcome guest, always ready to invite himself where he sees preparation made for his better, and one (I am persuaded) that hath learned more kinds of salutations than Loyola knew of, able to fill empty breasts or shallow heads unsettled in truth, with such pleasant, mild, and gentle blasts, as are apt to breed strong persuasions of more than angelical inspirations.

4. God grant the carriage of ensuing times may argue these admonitions needless: which further to prosecute, in respect of times late past and now present, could not be unseasonable; but thus much by the way must now suffice me, purposed hereafter (if God permit) to treat of the trial of spirits, and certain apprehension of inherent faith: about the general means of whose production, and establishment, the question (most controversed in these days) is; whether beside the testification of God's Spirit, which (as all agree) must (by these late mentioned or other means) work faith in our hearts; the testimony or authority of others besides ourselves, be necessary, either for ascertaining our ap-

[1] Proficientibus (ut admonet P. noster Ignatius L. exercit. de dignosc. spirit.) Spiritus malus se dure, implacide et violenter, quasi cum strepitu quodam, ut imber in saxa decidens, infundit. Bonus vero iisdem leniter, placide et suaviter, sicut aqua irrorat spongiam. Illis vero qui in deterius proficiunt, experientia docet, contra evenire. Delrius disquisit. Magic. lib. 4. c 1. q. 3. sect. 6.

prehension of the Spirit thus working, or for assuring the truth of experiments wrought by it in our souls? or if no other besides the testimony of God's Spirit and our own conscience be necessary, either after their sentence given, or whilst they give it, how far the authority or ministry of men is necessary or behoveful, either for bringing us acquainted with the Spirit of God, or for the assistance and direction of our conscience in giving right sentence of the truth or true meaning of God's word? Of these questions, and others subordinate to them, we are to dispute at large in the books following.

173 HOW FAR THE MINISTRY OF MEN

IS NECESSARY FOR

PLANTING TRUE CHRISTIAN FAITH;

AND RETAINING THE UNITY OF IT PLANTED.

THE SECOND BOOK OF
COMMENTS UPON THE CREED.

AS in the first intention, so after some prosecution of this long work; my purpose was, to refer the full examination of the Romish church's pretended authority in matters spiritual, unto the article of the catholic church: which (with those three others of the Holy Ghost, communion of saints, and forgiveness of sins, for more exact method's sake, and continuation of matters, in nature and sacred writ, most united) I have reserved for the last place, in this frame of Christian belief: annexing the articles of the body's resurrection, and everlasting life, unto that of final judgment, whereon these two have most immediate and most direct dependance.

2. But, after the platform was cast, and matter for structure prepared; upon evident discovery of the Jesuits' treachery, in setting up the pope as a secret competitor with the blessed Trinity, for absolute sovereignty over men's souls; (and for this purpose continually plotting to have the doctrine of their church's infallibility planted as low and deep, as the very first

and fundamental principles of belief:) albeit in laying the former foundations, I had come to ground firm enough (if free from undermining) to bear all I meant to build upon it: I was, notwithstanding, in this place constrained to bear the whole foundation, and all about it, unto the very rock, on whose strength it stands; lest this late dismal invention (concerning the pope's infallibility) might prove as a powder-plot to blow up the whole edifice of Christian faith; as it certainly will, if men suffer it to be once planted in their hearts and consciences. The Jesuits' speculative positions of their church's transcendent authority, are as the train, the pope's thunderbolts as the match, to set the whole world on combustion, unless his lordly designs (though in matters of faith and greatest moment) be put in execution, without question or demur: as shall (God prospering these proceedings) most clearly appear in the sequel of this discourse.

Wherein are to be discussed: 174

1. Their objections against us; the points of difference betwixt us; with the positive grounds of truth maintained by us.

2. The inconveniences of their positions: erection of triple blasphemy by the overthrow of Christianity.

3. The original causes of their error in this; and such erroneous persuasions, as held by them in other points, not descried by us, prove secret temptations for others to follow them, or serve as previal dispositions, for their agents to work upon.

4. The possible means and particular manner, how orthodoxal may be distinguished from heretical doctrine, or the life-working sense of scriptures from artificial glosses.

These points discussed, and the positive grounds of Christian faith cleared, as well against the open as-

saults of the professed atheists, as the secret attempts of undermining papists; we may with better security proceed to raise the foundation (laid in the first general part of the first book) to the height intended.

175 SECT. I.

What Obedience is due to God's Word, what to his Messengers.

THE whole scripture (saith the apostle) *is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, and to instruct in righteousness: that the man of God may be absolute, being made perfect unto all good works*[a]. What or whom he means by *the man of God*, is not agreed upon by all that acknowledge his words in the sense he meant them, most infallible and authentic. Some hereby understand only such men as Timothy was, ministers of God's word, or prophets of the New Testament; and so briefly elude all arguments hence drawn to prove the sufficiency of scriptures for being the absolute rule of faith, at least to *all*, as well unlearned as learned. Yet should they in all reason (might God's word rule their reason) grant them to be such unto all such as Timothy was, public teachers, men conversant in, or consecrated unto, sacred studies; but even this they deny as well as the former, though the former in their opinion be more absurd for us to affirm, especially holding the Hebrew text only authentic. Briefly, they charge us with debasing Peter, for advancing Paul; or rather, for colouring or adorning our pretended sense of Paul's words; that is, for giving too little to Peter's successors, or the church; too much to scriptures; too little to spiritual, too much to laymen.

2. These are plausible pretences, and sweet baits to

[a] 2 Tim. iii. 16.

stop the mouths and muffle the pens of clergymen in reformed churches; unto most of whom, (as they object,) besides the spiritual sword, little or nothing is left for their just defence against the insolencies of rude, illiterate, profane laics. And yet who more earnest than they in this cause, against the church, against themselves? yet certain it is, that no man can be truly for himself, unless he be first of all for truth itself, of which he that gains the greatest share, (what other detriment or disparagement soever in the meantime he sustain,) in the end speeds always best. And seeing to lie, or teach amiss, is a matter altogether impossible to Omnipotency itself; to be able and willing withal to defend a falsehood, or set fair colours on foul causes, is rather impotency than ability; hence was that, *Quicquid possumus pro veritate possumus.* Seeing by truth we live our spiritual life, to weaken it for strengthening our temporal hopes can never rightly be accounted any true effect of power, but an infallible argument of great and desperate imbecility.

3. For these reasons, since I consecrated my labours to the search of Divine truth, my mind hath been most set to find it out in this present controversy, whereon most others of moment chiefly depend. And as unto the Romanist it is (though falsely) termed, *the catholic*, 176
so should it be unto us, to all that love the name of Christ, the very Christian cause; a cause, with which the adversaries' fortunes, our faith, their temporal, our spiritual estate and hopes, must stand or fall; a cause, whose truth and strength on our part will evidently appear, if we first examine what the Antichristian adversary can oppose against it.

CHAP. I.

The Sum of the Romanists' Exceptions against the Scriptures.

1. THEIR objections against scriptures spring from this double root: the one, that they are no sufficient rule of faith, but many things are to be believed which are not taught in them: the second, that albeit they were the complete rule of faith, yet could they not be known of us, but by the authority of the church; so that all the former directions for establishing our assent unto the scriptures, as unto the words of God himself, were vain, seeing this cannot be attained unto, but by relying upon Christ's visible church.

The former of these two fountains or roots of error, I am not here to meddle with: elsewhere we shall. That the scriptures teach all points of faith set down in this creed they cannot deny, or if they would, it shall appear in their several explications: so that the scripture, rightly understood, is a competent rule for the articles herein contained. Let us then see whether the sense or meaning of these scriptures, which both they and we hold for canonical, may not be known, understood, and fully assented unto, immediately and in themselves, without relying upon any visible church or congregation of men, from whose doctrine we must frame our belief, without distrust of error or examination of their decrees, with any intention to reform them, or swerve from them.

2. [b]That the scripture is not the rule whereon private men, especially unlearned, ought to rely in matters of faith, from these general reasons or topics they seek to persuade us. First, admitting the scriptures to be infallible in themselves, and so consequently to

[b] The Romanists' first objection set down here, is answered in the next chapter, &c.

all such as can perfectly understand them in the language wherein they were written: yet to such as understand not that language they can be no infallible rule, because they are to them a rule only as they are translated: but no unlearned man can be sure that they are translated aright, according to the true intent and meaning of the Holy Ghost: for if any man do infallibly believe this, and build his faith hereupon, then is his faith grounded upon the infallibility of this or that man's skill in translating; whereof he that is unlearned can have no sufficient argument, neither out of scripture nor from reason. Nay, reason teacheth us that in matters of ordinary capacity most men are obnoxious to error, and the most skilful may have his escapes in a long work: for—

Opere in longo fas est obrepere somnum
Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus:

a man may sometimes take Homer napping, even in 177
that art whereof he was master. Much more may the greatest linguist living (in a work of so great difficulty as the translation of the Bible, not another man's, (though that more easy to err in than a man's own,) but the work or dictates of the Holy Ghost) prove an Homer, but a blind guide unto the blind. Many things he cannot see, and many things he may oversee; and how then can any man assure himself, that in those places whereon we should build our faith, he hath not gone besides the line; unless we will admit an infallible authority in the church, to assure us that such a translation doth not err?

3. Again, in those very translations wherein they agree[c]; Luther gathers one sense, Calvin another; every heretic may pretend a secret meaning of his private spirit. Who shall either secure the people dis-

[c] This is answered, chap. 19, &c. lib. 2.

tracted by dissensions amongst the learned, or the learned thus dissenting, unless the infallible authority of the church? Finally[d], without such an infallible authority, controversies will daily grow: and unless it be established, they can never be composed, seeing every man will draw in the scriptures as a party, to countenance or abet his opinion, how bad soever. [e]The ground of all which inconveniences (though the sectaries cannot see it) is the natural obscurity and difficulty of scriptures. These are the main springs, or first fountains, whence the adversary's eloquence in this argument flows. And it will be but one labour to stop up these and his mouth. Or granting them passage, we may draw his invention against us dry, by turning their course upon himself.

CHAP. II.

The former Objection (as far as it concerns illiterate and lay-men) retorted and answered.

1. IF to suppose such an authority were sufficient to confirm any translation, or secure the world of sincere translations, or to allay all controversies arising about the true sense and meaning of scriptures, we were very impious to deny it. But if we have just cause to suspect, that such as contend for it have but put this infallible authority, as the astronomers have supposed; some, epicycles and eccentrics; some, the motion of the earth; to salve their phenomena, which otherwise might seem irregular: we may, I trust, examine, first, whether the supposal of this infallible authority in the church do salve the former inconveniences, secondly, whether greater inconveniences will not follow upon the putting of it, than are the supposed mischiefs, for

[d] This is retorted and answered, chap. 26, &c.
[e] Answered, chap. 12.

the avoidance of which this infallible principle was invented, and is by the favourites of this art sought to be established and persuaded.

That the illiterate may as well know the true sense of scriptures, as the right meaning of the pope's decrees.

2. That this supposed infallible authority of the church visible doth no way salve the inconveniences objected against our positions, is hence evident. As the scriptures themselves were written in a tongue not common, nor understood of all nations, but of some few: so likewise the decrees of this visible church, concerning the authority of translations, are written in a tongue neither common to all, nor proper at this day 178 to any unlearned multitude, but to the learned only. Sometime they were written in Greek; but in later years all in Latin, or some other tongue (at the least) not common to all Christians: for no such can this day be found. Nor is the pope (or his cardinals) able to speak properly and truly every language in the Christian world, of which he challengeth the supremacy. He would be the universal head indeed: but he hath not, nor dare he profess he hath, an universal tongue, whereby he may fully instruct every person throughout the Christian world, in his own natural, known, mother tongue. For Bellarmine[f] brings this as an argument why the Bible should not be translated into modern tongues, because if into one, why not into another; and the pope (as he confesseth) cannot understand all.

3. Tell me then, you that seek to bring the unlearned lay-sort of men to seek shelter under the infallible authority of the Romish church; how can you assure

[f] Tot vero translationes, mutationes, sine gravissimo periculo et incommodo non fierent. Nam non semper inveniuntur idonei interpretes: atque ita multi errores committerentur qui non possint postea facile tolli. Cum neque pontifices, neque concilia de tot linguis judicare possint. Bellarm. lib. 2. de Verbo Dei, cap. 15. in fin.

them what is the very true meaning of that church? They understand not the language wherein her decisions were written. What then? must they infallibly, and under pain of damnation, believe that you do not err in your translations of them? or must they steadfastly believe, that you interpret her decrees aright? Nay even those decrees, which you hold infallible, condemn all private interpretation of them: and your greatest clerks daily dissent about the meaning of the Trent council in sundry points. Yet, unless the lay people can steadfastly believe, that you interpret the church's sentence aright; your supposed rule of the church's infallibility in confirming translations or senses of scripture, can neither be a rule infallible, nor any way profitable unto them. For it hath no other effect upon their souls, save only belief; [g]and they have no other means to know that this which they must believe is the church's sentence, but your report: then can they not be any more certain of the church's mind in this or that point, than they are of your skill or fidelity; neither of which can be to them the infallible rule of faith. For, if they should be thus infallibly persuaded of your skill or fidelity, then were their good persuasion of you the ground and rule of their faith; and so they must believe that you neither did nor could err in this relation: whereas your own doctrine is, that even the learnedest among you may err: and you cannot deny, but that it is possible for the honestest Jesuit either to lie or equivocate. Otherwise your infallibility in not erring were greater than your pope's or church's: for they both may err unless they speak *ex cathedra*. Now whether the pope speak this or that *ex cathedra*, or whether he speak or write to

[g] Were their objections against us pertinent, not the pope's infallibility, but the priests' and Jesuits' honesty or fidelity, should be the rule of most lay-papists' faith.

all or no, is not known to any of the common people in these northern countries, but only by your report: which if it be not infallible, and as free from error as the pope himself, the people must still stagger in faith. Nor do I see any possible remedy: unless every man should take a pilgrimage to Rome, or unless you would bring the pope throughout these countries, as men use monsters or strange sights. Yet how should they be certain that this is the pope, rather than some counterfeit? or how should they know Rome, but by others? Or can you hope to salve this inconvenience by an implicit or hypothetical faith? as, that it were enough for the lay people to believe absolutely and steadfastly, 179
that the pope or church cannot err: but to believe your report or informations of his sentence in doubtful cases, only conditionally; if it be the pope's mind: if otherwise, we will be free to recall our present belief. This is all which I can imagine any of you can say for yourselves. And may not we, I pray you, say as much, if thus much would serve for us? Might not we by the selfsame reason teach the people to admit of translations, but only conditionally, as far forth as they shall be persuaded that this was the meaning of the scripture or the word of God? For questionless, it is more certain that God cannot err, than that the pope cannot. And it is more necessary unto Christian belief to hold, that God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, neither can nor will speak a lie, than that the pope cannot, or will not teach us amiss. That the pope and his cardinals do arrogate thus much unto themselves, is more than the lay and unlearned people can tell, but only by yours and others' relation: but that the God of heaven neither can nor will teach amiss, is a principle not controve[illegible] any that thinks there is a God.

4. Let[illegible]anted, that God is freer

from error, from deceiving, or being deceived in points of faith, or matters of man's salvation, than the pope is, although he speak *ex cathedra*. From this position it follows most directly and most immediately, that if the lay unlearned people of this land have as good means and better, to know that these books of scripture are God's own words, than they can have to know that this or that canon in any council was confirmed by the pope's teaching *ex cathedra:* then must the same people believe the one more steadfastly than the other; to wit, God's word, as it is read unto them in our church, more steadfastly than the pope's interpretations, injunctions, or decrees. Let us compare the means of knowing both. First, if the pope's decrees be a certain means of knowing any truth: they are as certain a means of knowing those scriptures which our church admits to be God's word, as of any thing else; for the pope and his council[h] have avouched them for such, although they add some more than we acknowledge.

5. If the worst then should fall out that can be imagined; as if we had reason to despair of all other translations save only of the vulgar, yet that it were the word of God we might know, if by no other means, yet by consent of the Romish church; and all the people of this land might be as certain of this decree, as of any the pope can give. But take the same scripture as it is translated into our English, the people may be as certain that it is the word of God, as they can be that the Trent council was lawfully called, or by the pope confirmed, yea much more certain. The Jesuits may tell them, that these very words (being first Englished) were spoken in the Trent council, and confirmed by the pope. Why should they believe it? Because they avouch it seriously, whom they think

[h] Concil. Trident. Sessione quarta.

able to understand Latin? Suppose not only one, or two, or three, but the whole assembly of our clergy tells the same people, that these (reciting the points of our salvation) are the very words of God himself; and are for substance all one in the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and English. What difference can you here imagine? That the Trent council decreed thus, the modern Jesu- 180
its have it but from tradition of this age: that God spake thus, we have the consent of all ages. Yea, but it is easier to render the Trent council's meaning out of Latin, than the meaning of God's word out of Hebrew or Greek. Whether it be so or no, the unlearned people cannot tell, but by hearsay: yet, if we would take the vulgar Latin, this foolish objection were none: for it is as easy to be rendered, as the Trent council; and if the Trent council be true, it is the word of God. All then is equal concerning the difficulties that may arise from the skill or ignorance of the translators of the one or other; the pope's decrees or scripture. Our ministers know to render the meaning of scripture, as well as yours do the meaning of the councils. Let us now see whether it be as likely that our ministers' fidelity in telling them as they are persuaded, and as they believe themselves, be not to be presumed as great. To call this in question, were extreme impudency and uncivility, especially seeing we teach, that the people should be throughly instructed in the truth: whereas you hold it for good Christian policy to hold them in ignorance. Our permitting the free use of scriptures to all doth free us from all suspicion of imposture or guile: of which in the Jesuit or learned papist, the denial of like liberty is a foul presumption. Further, let us examine whether from the matter or manner of the pope's decrees, there can be any argument drawn to persuade the people that

these are his decrees, and no other man's: more than can be gathered from the matter and manner of scripture phrase, to persuade a man that these are God's, and can be no man's words: and here certainly we have infinite advantage of you. For no man of sense or reason, but must needs suffer himself to be persuaded, that it is a far easier matter to counterfeit the decrees of the Lateran or Trent council, or the pope's writs, interpretations, or determinations; than artificially to imitate the invincible and majestical word of God, either for the matter or the manner[i].

6. The sequel is this: that if the scriptures received by us be obnoxious to any the least suspicion of being forged; then from the same reasons, much more liable to the same suspicion are those which we account the pope's decrees, and therefore in respect of us, much less to be believed; although otherwise we should grant the pope's decrees (which without controversy were his decrees indeed) to be as infallible as the eternal and immutable decrees of the Almighty. God's word ofttimes unto atheists hath discovered itself by the majesty of style and sublimity of matter, to be more than human, and therefore Divine, not able to be imitated by any lying spirit. If any Jesuit will deny this, let him make trial of imitation in the prophecy of Isaiah, the beginning of St. John's Gospel, the relation of Joseph and his brethren's dialogues, the Book of Job, &c. The majesty of speech, and other excellencies which appears in them, (especially if we consider the time wherein most of them were written,) doth argue a Divine spirit; in whose imitation the most accurate writers of

[i] Granting the pope to be as infallible as God himself; yet were not his decrees related by his messengers to be so much believed, as God's written word, received by us and them, because it is more free from suspicion of forgery, than they can be; harder to be counterfeited than they are.

later ages (albeit no man writes excellently but from some beam of Divine illumination in the faculty) are but apish, if we read the same scriptures in the tongue wherein they were written, or in sundry modern 181
tongues capable of the Divine splendour which shines in the original; with which the Latin (especially in prose) hath greatest disproportion of all learned or copious tongues. As for the pope's decrees, they bewray themselves both for the matter and manner, to be only human, and therefore easy to be imitated by the spirit of man, subject to many errors. Nor doth the pope challenge to himself the gift of prophecy, but only of legal decisions: which are no otherwise written, than many write, and contain no deeper nor more supernatural matter, than many may invent: most of them usually penned in a base and barbarous logic phrase: his style at the best is not peculiar, his character easy to be counterfeited by any man that can pen a proclamation, or frame an instrument in civil courts.

7. To recollect what hath been said. First, seeing God is more to believed than men; secondly, seeing we have better arguments to persuade the people that these scriptures daily read in our churches are God's own words, than the priests and Jesuits have, that the tidings which they bring from beyond sea are the pope's or church's decrees or sentence: we may and ought teach them to rely immediately upon God's word preached or read unto them, as the surest and most infallible rule of faith, the most lively, most effectual, and most forcible means of their salvation. Or if the Jesuits will teach them to believe the pope's decrees given *ex cathedra*, or the church's opinion indefinitely taken *fide divina*, by infallible faith; but the Jesuits' or priests' expositions or translations of them,

only conditionally, and with this limitation, [if so they be the pope or church's decrees:] we may in like sort with far greater reason, teach the people to believe the scriptures or the word of God absolutely, and our translations or expositions of it but conditionally or with limitation, so far as they are consonant to the word of God. Seeing it is as probable, that we may expound God's word as rightly and sincerely as the other can the church or pope's edicts; we have better reason to exact this conditional obedience and assent, in the virtue and authority of God's word, which we make the rule of faith; than they can have to exact the like obedience by virtue of the pope or church's edict, which is to them the mistress of faith. For it is more certain to any man living, that God's word is most infallibly true, than that the pope cannot err. Wherefore if the absolute belief of the pope's infallibility, and conditional belief of the Jesuits or priests his messengers' fidelity or skill, be sufficient to salvation: much more may the absolute belief or assent unto the infallibility of God's word, and such conditional and limited belief of his ministers' fidelity, be sufficient for the salvation of his people: who, as hath been proved, cannot be more certain that the Romish church saith this or that, than we can be of God's word. For they never hear the church or pope speak, but in Jesuits' or priests' mouths. And although they knew he said just so as those say; yet may a man doubt in modesty, whether the pope's words be always infallible; but of the infallibility of God's word can no man doubt.

8. And here I cannot but much wonder at the preposterous courses of these Romanists, who holding an
182 implicit faith of believing as the church believes, (in many points,) to be sufficient unto salvation; will yet fasten this implicit faith upon the present church of

Rome, and not refer it rather unto that church as it was under St. Peter's jurisdiction and government. For if universality be (as they contend) a sure note of undoubted truth; then must it needs be more undoubtedly true, that St. Peter could not err in matters of faith, than that this present Romish pope and his cardinals cannot so err. For all papists hold this as true of St. Peter, as of this present pope; and all protestants hold it true of St. Peter, not in the present pope: and so did all the fathers without controversy hold it most true, that St. Peter did not teach amiss in his apostolical writings. So that universality is much greater for St. Peter, than for this pope that now is, or the next that shall be.

9. For these reasons, (fully consonant to their own positions,) all papists, methinks, in reason, should make the same difference in their estimate of St. Peter and later popes, which a French cardinal (as the tradition is at Durham) once made betwixt St. Cuthbert and venerable Bede. Albeit St. Cuthbert was accounted the greater saint amongst them whose greater benefactor he had been, (in which respect they brought the cardinal first unto St. Cuthbert's tomb:) yet, because he knew him not so well, but only by their report, he prays very warily; *Sancte Cuthberte, si sanctus es, ora pro me.* But afterwards, brought unto Bede's tomb then in the consistory; because he had been famous in foreign nations, from the commendations of less partial antiquity; he fell to his prayers without *ifs* and *ands; Venerabilis Beda, quia tu sanctus es, ora pro me.*

10. Proportional to this caution in this Frenchman's prayer, should every modern papist limit his belief of the present pope's infallibility in respect of St. Peter's; and say thus in his heart: As for St. Peter, I know he

believed and taught aright: and I beseech God I may believe as he believed, and that my soul may come whither his is gone: as for this present pope, if he believe as St. Peter did, and be likely to follow him in life and death, I pray God I may believe as he believes, and do as he teacheth; but otherwise, believe me, I would be very loath to pin my belief upon his sleeve, lest haply he run headlong to hell with that which should have drawn me up to heaven: for in this life I walk by faith, and by faith I must ascend thither, if I ever come there; and therefore I dare not fasten my belief upon any man, whom I would be loath to follow in his course of life. But most surely might this implicit faith be fastened upon God's written word, contained in the writings of Moses, the prophets, apostles, and evangelists. We know, O Lord, that thou hast taught them all truth that is necessary for thy church to know. And our adversaries confess, that thy word uttered by them (rightly understood) is the most sure rule of faith: for by this they seek to establish the infallibility of the church and pope. They themselves speak aright, by their own confession, where they speak consonantly unto it. Wherefore the safest course for us must be, to search out the true sense and meaning of it; which is as easy for us as them to find, as in the process of these meditations, God willing, shall appear.

183 11. [k]Unto the main objection, concerning the means of knowing scripture to be scripture, we have partly answered (or rather prevented it) in the first treatise: and throughout this whole intended discourse we shall, God willing, explicate the former general means or

[k] A brief answer to the objection concerning the illiterate. In what sense the scripture or written word may be said to be the rule of their faith. See c. 11. parag. 3 and 4. How far such are to rely upon their instructors' authority, see c. 8.

motives, as also bring other peculiar inducements for the establishing of true faith, unto the particular articles in this creed contained. For the present difficulty, concerning the rule of illiterate laymen's faith, or such as understand not those languages in which the Holy Ghost did write; we answer briefly, that the language, tongue, or dialect, is but the vesture of truth; the truth itself for substance is one and the same in all languages. And the Holy Spirit[l], who instructed the first messengers of the gospel with the true sense and knowledge of the truths therein revealed, and furnished them with diversity of tongues to utter them to the capacity of divers nations, can and doth, throughout all succeeding ages, continue his gifts, whether of tongues or others, whatsoever are necessary, for conveying the true sense and meaning of saving truth already taught, immediately to the hearts of all such, in every nation as are not for their sin judged unworthy of his society[m]; of all such as resist not his motions, to follow the lusts of the flesh. And as for men altogether illiterate, that cannot read the scriptures in any tongue, we do not hold them bound (nor indeed are any) to believe absolutely or expressly every clause or sentence in the sacred canon to be the infallible oracle of God's Spirit, otherwise than is before expressed[n]: but unto the several matters or substance of truth, contained in the principal parts thereof, their souls and spirits are so surely tied and fastened, that they can say to their own consciences, wheresoever these men that teach us these good lessons

[l] See chap. 16.

[m] The want of skill in sacred tongues in former ages, was for their ingratitude towards God, and loving of darkness more than light. For the like reasons were the scriptures to the Jews (as to our forefathers they had for a long time been) as a sealed book. See chap 13 parag. 3, 4, 5.

[n] Lib. 1. cap. 34.

learned the same themselves, most certain it is, that originally they came from God, and by the gracious providence of that God (whose goodness they so often mention) are they now come to us.

Such are, the rules or testimonies of God's providence, the doctrines or real truths of original sin, of our misery by nature, and freedom by grace: such are, the articles of Christ's passion, and the effects thereof; of the resurrection, and life everlasting. Unto these, and other points of like nature and consequence, every true Christian soul, indued with reason and discourse, gives a full, a firm, and absolute assent, directly and immediately fastened upon these truths themselves, not tied or held unto them by any authority of man. For albeit true and steadfast belief of these fundamental points might be as scant, as the true worship of God seemed to be unto Elias in his days; yet every faithful soul must thus resolve: [o] Though all the world besides myself should worship Baal, and follow after other gods; yet will I follow the God of heaven, in whom our fathers trusted; and on whose providence whoso relies shall never fall. So likewise must every Christian both in heart resolve, and outwardly profess with Peter, (but with unfeigned prayers for better success,
184 and diligent endeavours by his example to beware of all presumption,) though all the world beside myself should adjure Christ, and admit of Mahomet for their media-

[o] Thus much Canus granteth, de loc. Theol. lib. 2. cap. 8. resp. ad 4. Ad hæc, si omnes hi, qui me docuerunt, imo adeo angeli cœlorum mihi astruent oppositum ejus, quod fide teneo, non ex eo fides mea labefactaretur. Juxta Pauli apostoli præscriptum illud, Licet nos aut angelus, &c. Gal. i. 8. Consequently hereunto he proveth the last resolution of faith not to be into the veracity or infallibility of the church, taxing Scotus, Gabriel, and Durand, (as the margin telleth us:) but his reason holdeth good against all such as make the church's infallibility the rule of faith: as shall be shewed, God willing, in lib. 3. sect. 3. see lib. 2. cap. 10.

tor; yet would not I follow so great a multitude to so great an evil, but always cleave unto the crucified Christ, my only Saviour and Redeemer, who, I know, is both able and willing to save all such as follow him, both in life and death. So again, though all the subtilty and wisdom of hell, the world, and flesh, should jointly bend their force, and stretch invention to overthrow the glorious hope of our resurrection from the dead; yet every faithful Christian must here resolve with Job, and out of his believing heart profess, *I am sure that my Redeemer liveth, and he shall stand the last on the earth: and though after my skin this body be destroyed, yet shall I see God in my flesh: whom I myself shall see, and mine eyes shall behold, and none other for me,* Job xix. 25. As we hope to see Christ with our own eyes immediately and directly in his person, not by any other men's eyes; so must we in this life steadfastly believe, and fasten our faith upon those points and articles, which are necessary for the attaining of this sight of Christ, in and for themselves, not from any authority or testimony of men, upon which we must rely; for this were to see with the eyes of others' faith, not with our own.

12. Many other points there be, not of like necessity or consequence, which unto men, specially altogether unlearned, or otherwise of less capacity, may be proposed as the infallible oracles of God: unto some of which it is not lawful for them to give so absolute and firm irrevocable assent as they must do unto the former, because they cannot discern the truth of them in itself, or for itself, or with their own eyes, as (it is supposed) they did the truth of the former.

CHAP. III.

The general Heads of Agreements or Differences betwixt us and the Papists in this Argument.

1. ALL the difficulties in this argument may be reduced to these three heads. First, How we can know whether God hath spoken any thing or no unto his church. Secondly, What the extent of his word or speech is; as, whether all he hath spoken be written, or some unwritten; or how we may know amongst books written, which are written by him, which not. Likewise of unwritten verities, which are Divine, which counterfeit. Thirdly, How we know the sense and meaning of God's word, whether written or unwritten.

2. These difficulties are common to the Jews, Turks, Christians, and all heretics whatsoever: all which agree in this main principle, That whatsoever God hath said or shall say at any time, is most undoubtedly and infallibly true.

3. But for this present, we must dismiss all questions about the number or sufficiency of canonical books, or necessity of traditions. For these are without the lists of our proposed method. All the professors, either of reformed or Romish religion, agree in this principle, That certain books (which both acknowledge) do contain in them the undoubted and infallible word of God.

185 4. The first point of breach or difference betwixt us and the papist, is, concerning the means how a Christian man may be in conscience persuaded (as steadfastly and infallibly as is necessary unto salvation) that these books (whose authority none of them deny, but both outwardly acknowledge) are indeed God's words.

The first breach betwixt us.

The second. 5. The second point of difference (admitting the steadfast and infallible belief of the former) is, concern-

ing the means how every Christian man may be in conscience persuaded, as infallibly as is necessary to his salvation, of the true sense and meaning of these books jointly acknowledged, and steadfastly believed of both.

Our agreement concerning the necessity of ministerial function for the planting of faith.

6. In the means or manner, how we come to believe both these points steadfastly and infallibly, we agree again in this principle: that neither of the former points can (ordinarily) be fully and steadfastly believed, without the ministry, asseveration, proposal, or instructions of men, appointed by God for the begetting of faith and belief in others' hearts; both of us agree, that this faith must come by hearing of the Divine word.

7. Concerning the authority of preachers, or men thus appointed for the begetting of faith, the question again is twofold.

The points of difference betwixt us, about the prerogative of pastors, and the manner of their begetting faith in others.

8. First, whether this authority be primarily, or in some peculiar sort, annexed to any peculiar man or company of men distinct from others by prerogative of place, preeminence of succession, and from him or them to be derived unto all others set apart for this ministry; or whether the ministry of any men, of what place or society soever, whom God hath called to this function, and enabled for the same, be sufficient for the begetting of true faith, without any others' confirmation or approbation of their doctrine.

9. Secondly, it is questioned, how this ministry of man, which is necessarily supposed, (ordinarily,) both for knowing the word of God, and the true meaning of it, becomes available for the begetting of true belief in either point. In whomsoever the authority of this ministerial function be, the question is, Whether it perform thus much, only by proposing or expounding the word, which is infallible; or by their infallible

proposal or exposition of it; that is, whether for the attaining of true belief in both points mentioned, we must rely infallibly upon the infallible word of God only; or partly upon it, and partly upon the infallibility of such as expound it unto us. Or in other words thus: Whether the authority or infallibility of any man's doctrine or asseveration concerning these scriptures, or their true sense, be as infallibly to be believed as those scriptures themselves are, or that sense of them, which the Spirit of God hath wrought in our hearts, by sure and undoubted experience.

Other branches of the former differences.

10. These are the principal roots and fountains of difference between us, concerning our present controversy, whence issue and spring these following. First, whether Christ (whose authority both acknowledge for infallible) hath left any public judge of these scriptures which both receive, or of their right sense and meaning, from whose sentence we may not appeal; or
186 whether all to whom this ministry of faith is committed, be but expositors of Divine scriptures, so as their expositions may by all faithful Christians be examined. Hence ariseth that other question, Whether the scriptures be the infallible rule of faith. If scripture admit any judge, then is it no rule of faith: if all doctrines are to be examined by scripture, then is it a perfect rule.

The Romanists' assertions.

11. Our adversaries', especially later Jesuits', positions are these. The infallible authority of the present church, that is, of some visible company of living men, must be as absolutely believed of all Christians, as any oracle of God: and hence would they bind all such as profess the catholic faith, in all causes concerning the oracles or word of God, to yield the same obedience unto decrees and constitutions of the church, which is due unto these oracles themselves, even to such of

them as all faithful hearts do undoubtedly know to be God's written word.

12. The reasons pretended for this absolute obedience, to be performed unto the church or visible company of men, are drawn from the insufficiency of scripture; either for notifying itself to be the word of God, or the true sense and meaning of itself. Consequently to these objections they stiffly maintain, that the infallible authority of the present church is the most sure, most safe, undoubted rule in all doubts or controversies of faith, or in all points concerning these oracles of God: by which we may certainly know both; without which we cannot possibly know either, which are the oracles of God, which not, or what is the true sense and meaning of such as are received for his oracles: one of the especial consequents of these assertions is, that this church's decisions or decrees may not be examined by scriptures.

13. Our church's assertions concerning the knowledge of God's word in general, is thus: "As God's word is in itself infallible, so it may be infallibly apprehended and believed by every Christian, unto whom he vouchsafeth to speak, after what manner soever he speak unto him." Yea whatsoever is necessary for any man to believe, the same must be infallibly written in his heart: and on it once written, there he must immediately rely, not upon any other authority concerning it. Our church's assertions contradictory to the former.

14. Or if we speak of God's written word, our former general assertion may be restrained, thus:

15. We are not bound to believe the authority of the church, or visible company of any living men, either concerning the truth or true sense of Divine oracles written, so steadfastly and absolutely as we are bound to believe the Divine written oracles themselves. Consequently to this assertion we affirm,

16. That the infallible rule whereupon every Christian, in matters of written verities, (absolutely and finally, without all appeal, condition, or reservation,) is to rely, must be the Divine written oracles themselves: some of which every Christian hath written in his heart by the finger of God's Spirit, and believes immediately in and for themselves, not for any authority of men; and these to him must be the rule for examining all other doctrines, and trying any matters of faith.

187 But because most in our days, in matters of faith and Christian obedience, miss the celestial mean, and fall into one of the two extremes; it shall not be amiss, while we seek to divert their course from Scylla, to admonish lest they make shipwreck in Charybdis.

CHAP. IV.

Shewing the Mean betwixt the two Extremities; the one in Excess, proper to the Papists, the other in Defect, proper to the Anti-papist.

1. It is a rule in logic, that two contrary propositions (for their form) may be both false: and hence it is, that many controversers of our times, (either in love to the cause they defend, or heat of contention,) not content only to contradict, but desirous to be most contrary to their adversaries, fall into error with them. No controversy (almost) of greater moment this day extant, but yields experiments of this observation, though none more plentiful than this in hand, concerning the visible church's authority, or obedience due to spiritual pastors.

The first extremity held by the papists.

2. The papists on the one side demand infallible assent, and illimited obedience unto whatsoever the church shall propose, without examination of her doctrine or appeal; which is indeed (as we shall after-

wards prove) to take away all the authority of God's word, and to erect the present church's consistory above Moses and St. Peter's chair. On the other side, sundry, by profession protestants, in eagerness of opposition to the papists, affirm, that the church, or spiritual pastors, must then only be believed, then only be obeyed, when they give sentence according to the evident and express law of God, made evident to the hearts and consciences of such as must believe and obey them. And this, in one word, is to take away all authority of spiritual pastors, and to deprive them of all obedience, unto whom (doubtless) God, by his written word, hath given some special authority and right, to exact some peculiar obedience of their flock.

The second held by the anti-papists.

Now if the pastor be then only to be obeyed, when he brings evident commission out of scripture for those particulars unto which he demands belief or obedience, what obedience do men perform unto him, more than to any other man whomsoever? For whosoever he be that can shew us the express, undoubted command of God, it must be obeyed of all: but whilst it is thus obeyed, it only, not he that sheweth it unto us, is obeyed. And if this were all the obedience which I owe unto others, I were no more bound to believe or obey any other man, than he is bound to obey or believe me; the flock no more bound to obey their pastors, than the pastors them. Yet certainly God, who hath set kingdoms in order, is not the author of such confusion in the spiritual regiment of his church.

3. Seeing then it is most certain that the Romanists 188
do foully err, let us see how their error may be fully contradicted, not strive to be most contrary unto them, but rather to seek out the mean between these two erroneous extremes.

4. Infallible assent, and illimited, unreserved obe-

dience, we may not perform to the present church, or any visible company of men; but to the scripture only, made known, and evident to our consciences. This assertion is directly and fully contradictory unto the papists.

The third or middle assertion, contradictory to the two former extremes, and only consonant to the truth.

5. Conditional assent, and cautionary obedience, we may and must perform to our spiritual pastors, overseers, and governors, albeit we see not express commission out of scripture to warrant these particulars whereunto they demand assent or obedience. It is sufficient that they have their general commission for obedience expressly contained in scripture. This assertion directly contradicts the other extreme, or contrary assertion, and of all the three only doth not contradict the word of God, which expressly teacheth, that some peculiar obedience is due unto spiritual governors. Unless we hold, that when Christ *ascended on high, and led captivity captive,* his donation of spiritual authority was but a donation of bare titles, without realities answering unto them. *To some, he gave to be apostles; to some, prophets; some, evangelists; some, pastors and teachers,* Ephes. iv. 11. Though prophesying in some degree hath ceased, and the eminency of apostleship be dead with the apostles; yet pastors remain, and teachers must continue in Christ's church unto the world's end. If pastors we be, then must we have our shepherd's staff; if teachers, a rod to keep our scholars in awe. The same apostle from these grounds, thus exhorteth the flock: *Obey them that have the oversight of you, and submit yourselves: for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account, that they may do it with joy, and not with grief: for that is unprofitable for you.* Heb. xiii. 17. What manner of submission, or what kind of obedience, doth he here exact? Only spiritual, will the

That some peculiar obedience, though not so great as the Romish church doth challenge, is due to spiritual governors.

carnal gospeller reply. But what manner of obedience is this spiritual? the least of all others? It is doubtless in their esteem, which fear no loss, but what is sensible for the present, nor know not the virtue of any thing, but what is palpable; unto all such, to be spiritual is all one as to be invisible, and to be invisible, is all one as not to be at all. This is the last resolution of most men's conceit of all spiritual authority in our times. But such as dread the majesty of that invisible God, and fear to grieve his Holy Spirit, will be most afraid of contemning spiritual authority. Disobedience to it, though in a prince, is as hateful to the King of kings as the sin of witchcraft: for no subject is more bound to obey his prince in civil actions, than his pastors in spiritual. He that said, *Touch not mine anointed*, said also, *Do my prophets no harm.* Of princes it is said by the apostle, *He that resisteth them, resisteth God*[p]. To pastors it was said, (by the Wisdom of God, by whom princes reign,) *He that heareth you heareth me; he that despiseth you despiseth me; and he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me*[q]: and elsewhere, *Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted; whose sins ye retain, they are retained*[r]. These are prerogatives of priests, and were not esteemed as words of course, or formality, in the ancient and primitive church[s]. It was the just fear of disobedience in the flock, which first gave occasion to pastors to usurp this tyranny over them which now they practise. For as idolatry and superstition could not have increased so much in the old world, unless there had been evident documents of a Divine power in ages precedent; so neither could this extreme tyranny over Christ's flock have been either usurped in the middle, or continued 189

[p] Rom. xiii. [q] Luke x. 16. [r] John xx. 23. [s] Vid. lib. 1. cap. 12.

to the latter ages of the Christian world, unless the flock had made it a main matter of conscience to disobey their pastors and overseers, whose authority they knew from those places of scripture, then well expounded by the practice of holy men, to be exceeding great.

6. St. Peter foresaw that this antichristian authority was likely to spring from the people's reverent conceit of their pastors' authority: and because the flock was bound most strictly to obey them, he willeth the pastors not to be too lordly in their commands. *Feed the flock of God which dependeth upon you, caring for it, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; not as though ye were lords over God's heritage, but that ye may be ensamples to the flock*[t]. So doth St. Paul: *Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock, whereof the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood: for I know this, that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock*[u]. Unless the flock, for their parts, had been bound to strict obedience, usurpation of lordship over them had not been so easy, especially when there was no power beside the pastoral staff to keep them under: nor could their pastors have had any such opportunity to attempt it, as might justly occasion these caveats from these two apostles, which by their moderate carriage had prescribed a contrary example to their successors. Easy it had been for the flock to have spared themselves, or kept aloof from such merciless overseers; whose designs, though they could not with safe consciences contemn, avoid they might, by circumspect and careful attending to other true shepherds' voices,

[t] 1 Pet. v. 2, 3. [u] Acts xx. 28, 29.

who by their skill in scriptures, and true knowledge of the Apostles' rules, knew how to limit the former large commission directed to pastors, after they begun degenerate into wolves. For this cause, neither of these apostles direct these admonitions to their flock, as if it were permitted them to limit their obedience at their pleasure, but unto their pastors. And St. Peter, in the words immediately following this admonition unto pastors, exhorts the flock unto obedience; *Likewise ye younger, submit yourselves unto the elders*[x]; without any the least intimation that they might disobey, as soon as the other began to domineer. Not that the flock may not refuse to obey their overseers in some cases; but our apostles did foresee, that the people would be always most prone to disobedience, upon less occasions than was requisite: and yet disobedience, unless upon evident and just occasions, he knew to be as dangerous, as blind obedience in matters unlawful; the one usually is the forerunner of superstition and idolatry; the other, the mother of carnal security, schism, and infidelity. And according to our apostle's fear, did it fall out in the church of God. The first mischief which befell her in her prime, was from the 190
want of due reverence, and awful regard of ecclesiastic injunctions and constitutions. Hence did heresies spring in such abundance; Satan had sown their seeds in proud hearts; and the civil magistrate's facility to countenance every prating discontent, or forth-putting vocalist, in preaching what he list, though contrary to his governor's constitutions, was as the spring sun to cherish and bring them forth. And as the Romish church, upon the depression of such rebellious spirits, did raise herself above all that is called GOD: so in truth it cannot be denied, but that many in reformed

[x] 1 Pet. v. 5.

congregations, by seeking to cure her disease, have cast the church of God into a relapse of her former sickness, which was the usurpation of too much liberty in her children. For the avoidance whereof, we are now, as God hath enabled us, to advise.

CHAP. V.

Of the Diversity of Human Actions: the Original of their Lawfulness, Unlawfulness, or Indifferency: which without Question belong to the proper Subject of Obedience, which not.

1. OF the subordination of spiritual governors amongst themselves, we shall have fitter occasion elsewhere to treat: now we are to inquire the limits and bounds of spiritual authority in general, only so far forth as it concerns the rectifying of their belief who are bound to obey.

2. Out of the places before alleged, these truths necessarily and immediately flow. There is some peculiar authority in the priesthood or ministry, which is not to be found in other men. This authority in them is as essentially subordinate to Christ, as the authority of any other magistrates is unto the principality or sovereignty of that nation wherein they live. Disobedience unto spiritual governors doth redound as directly and fully unto Christ's, as disobedience to inferior magistrates doth unto the prince's or supreme governor's dishonour; for *he that heareth Christ's messengers heareth him; he that despiseth them despiseth him:* and yet it is as evident again in some cases they may be disobeyed. The difficulty is, in which they are to be obeyed, in which not; or in one word, what is the proper subject of obedience due unto them.

3. All obedience is seen, either in doing what is

commanded, or abstaining from what is forbidden: all disobedience, in refusing to do what is commanded, and doing that which is forbidden by superiors, or men in authority. Things commanded or forbidden are of three sorts; either good in themselves, and required; or else simply bad, and prohibited by the law of God or nature; or finally, indifferent; neither commanded nor forbidden by either of the former laws. Again, of good things, some are better, some less good. And so of evil, some are more, some less evil. Things indifferent only admit no degrees; but our persuasion of their indifferency, as also of the two other kinds, may be stronger or weaker. Our persuasion in all three kinds may be pure or mixed. Our persuasion of any kind is then pure, when there is no surmise or persuasion of any contrary quality in the action to be undertaken; then mixed, when we are partly persuaded that it is of this or that nature, but not without some surmise or probability that it may be of another quality. The mixture of our persuasion likewise may be diverse. Sometimes we may be strongly persuaded that the matter enjoined is good, and yet have some weak persuasions or surmise that it is evil; or contrariwise. Sometime we may have an equal persuasion both ways, and think it as probably good as evil. Sometimes we may have a strong persuasion that it is indifferent; and a weak, that it is good or evil, or contrariwise. Sometimes we may have a weak persuasion or conjecture that it may be a great good, and a strong persuasion that it is but a little evil; or contrariwise. Sometimes a strong persuasion that it is a thing indifferent, and yet some surmise that it is a great evil, or great good. Finally, as the good or evil apprehended by us, so our apprehension or persuasion of their truth, or the truth of that indifferency, which

The general or remote subject of obedience.

Persuasions pure or mixed.

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Of the various mixture of persuasions, whence the variety of actions or of doubts concerning their lawfulness or unlawfulness doth arise.

is found in some actions, may be divided into as many degrees as we please: from the multiplicity of whose different combination, the variety of human actions (if we would descend to mathematical mensurations of our conceits, or calculate every scruple, which curiosity of speculation might breed in matters of practice) may be in a manner infinite. But because most men measure matters of conscience as they do commodities of little worth, only *grosso modo;* for our present purpose it will suffice to suppose three degrees of good, and three of evil, and as many of our persuasions concerning the lawfulness, unlawfulness, or indifferency of our actions.

4. Of things good in themselves, or so apprehended by us, without any suspicion or scruple of evil in them, there is no question. Every man's conscience hath authority sufficient to enjoin their practice, and other authority is scarce seen in the substance of such actions. For seeing the good itself is to be done, one time or other, in some measure, only the alacrity of doing it being enjoined; in what time or measure it is to be done, or other like circumstances, do properly come within the subject of obedience.

5. Concerning pure persuasion of things indifferent likewise, there is no difficulty of moment. For no man that understands what he saith, will once deny, that every lawful governor is to be obeyed, in things acknowleged for merely indifferent. Only this question may be made, whether things indifferent in the general, or unto many or most men at ordinary times, be indifferent in the individual, to this or that particular man, at some peculiar seasons? Either he makes no conscience of his ways, or else he is besides himself, that denies obedience unto any lawful magistrate; save only in such matters as at that time seem unlawful for him to do, though indifferent in the general, or at

other seasons, or to other men. Hence ariseth the first degree of difference betwixt governors and private persons, that in things acknowledged for indifferent unto us, at this very instant, we are not bound to follow private men's advice; but a magistrate's or governor's command we are in conscience to obey, and to make choice of whether part he shall appoint.

The rule of private resolutions in matters apprehended as merely evil.

6. If we speak of private resolutions concerning things evil, this rule in general is most certain: Whilst we are persuaded that any action is evil, without any conceit or persuasion of good in the same, the adventuring upon it is desperate, and the performance of it unlawful. And yet, as he that exchangeth a commodity worth eleven shillings, for another not worth five, sustains greater loss, than he that hath a crown taken from him, without any thing in lieu thereof; so may a man ofttimes wrong his own soul and conscience more, by undertaking actions which have some show or probability of goodness in them, than in undertaking others which have none, but are only apprehended as evil. This falls out only and always then, when the difference between the greatness or probabilities of the evil feared in the one, and the goodness hoped in the other action, is greater than the quantity or probability of the former evil, which admitted no mixed apprehension of good. The reason is plain, because the mixture of good doth only recompense so many degrees of evil as itself contains of good. Now if in the actions of equally mixed persuasions, the proportion between the evil and good be such, as is between eleven and five; the overplus of the evil will be as six; and so shall it make that action wherein it is, worse than that which hath but five degrees or parts of evil, albeit without all mixture of any contrary persuasion, or conceit of good. But always where the evils feared

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In what case some matters apprehended as merely evil, may be undertaken with less danger than others which are partly apprehended as evil, partly as good.

are equal, and the probabilities of their ensuing likewise equal, any mixed apprehension of some good probably incident to the one, not to the other, doth make the action whereto it is incident less evil, according to the degrees, either of the good apprehended, or of our probabilities that it may be accomplished: and yet shall the action still be evil, as long as the evil which we fear is greater than the good which we can hope for; or (these being equal) the probabilities greater that the evil should fall out, than the good. For if to prefer a less good before a greater be evil, much more to adventure upon a great evil, in hope of a lesser good; most of all to adventure upon any great or probable evil, without probability of any good to countervail it in the choice.

The rule of private resolutions in matters as probably good as evil.

7. Concerning mixed persuasions of good and evil, this rule is general for private resolutions: Whereso-ever the probabilities or persuasions of the goodness of any action are as great as the persuasions and probabilities of the evil that may ensue, and the measure of the goodness apprehended as great as the quantity of the evil feared, a man of his own private accord may as safely adventure upon the action as the omission of it, referring the event to God's providence, which favoureth positive actions more than privations, works rather than idleness, and the following of that which is good, more than abstinence from evil. A lawful governor's command, whether spiritual or temporal, must in this case rule all private choice, either for doing or omitting it: the case is all one as in things merely indifferent; for here is an indifferency of persuasions. These rules are evident in private resolutions.

The chief points of difficulty

8. All the difficulty concerning the subject of obedience unto governors, is, either in pure persuasions of

the evil that may be in matters commanded, without any probability of good; or else, where the mixture of persuasions is unequal in respect of the evil feared; or lastly, where (supposing the probabilities of good and evil are equal) the quantity of the evil which men fear is greater than the quantity of the good which they hope; the points of difficulty are especially two: concerning the subject of obedience. 193

9. First, whether injunction of public authority may oversway any degree of our private persuasions, concerning the unlawfulness of any opinion or action; as, whether we may safely adventure upon such actions, or embrace such opinions, as we ourselves judge evil, without any show or conceit of good; or such as we are more strongly persuaded that they are evil than good; or such, wherein the evil which we fear, seems greater than it can be recompensed with the good which we can hope for, though it were as likely to ensue.

10. Secondly, if public authority may oversway any at all, what kind of private persuasions these be, or how far they may be overswayed by it.

CHAP. VI.

That sincere Obedience unto lawful Authority makes sundry Actions lawful and good, which without it would be altogether unlawful and evil.

1. MANY in our days are persuaded, that no injunction of authority ought to move us to any thing, which privately we deem evil, either absolutely or unto us. Obedience in matters lawful they acknowledge to be good, and acceptable in the sight of God; but the goodness of it not so great as may warrant our undertaking actions, either suspected for unlawful, or already condemned for such, in the consistory of our private

conscience: for this, in their opinion, were *to do evil that good might ensue.*

2. But here men should consider, that many actions may be evil, whilst undertaken by private men upon private motions, which are not evil, once allowed or enjoined by authority: not that any authority can make that which is evil good; but that it may add some circumstance or motive, whereby the same action which, barely considered, was evil before, may now by this addition or alteration become not evil, because not altogether the same. For Abraham upon private instigation or secular motives to have killed his son, had been hideous and monstrous cruelty, one of the greatest breaches imaginable of the law of nature; but being appointed by God so to do, to have killed his son had been no manslaughter. Not that God in this particular did (as some speak) dispense with the law of nature; for dispensation had made his action or purpose only not unlawful; whereas God's commandment [y] did not only exempt his resolution from that precept, *Thou shalt not kill*, but placed it in the highest rank of goodness. For he had done better in killing his son upon this motive, than in saving of his enemy's life out of his private resolution or goodness of nature. Most true it is (for a prophet said it) of the
194 general, *Obedience is better than sacrifice* [z]; the truth whereof was most undoubtedly most perspicuous in this particular, by which that very action, which otherwise had been most cruel murder, became more accept-

[y] Abraham non solum non est culpatus crudelitatis crimine, verum etiam laudatus est nomine pietatis, quod voluit filium nequaquam scelerate, sed obedienter occidere. Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. 1. cap. 21. Spontaneus motus execrabilis Deo jubente laudabilis. Aug. contra Faust. Man. l. 22. c. 73.

[z] Abraham's obedience made that action, which without it had been worse than murder, to be better than sacrifice.

able in the sight of God, than any sacrifice that ever was offered, save only that, wherein greater obedience than Abraham here intended, was actually performed.

How far the former instance serveth to infer the conclusion proposed.

3. But some, perhaps, will here demand, what argument can be drawn from obedience unto Divine, Supreme authority, for justifying obedience unto subordinate powers, in matters which, in our private estimation, we deem unlawful? Shall we equalize man with God, or human authority with Divine? No, but we should know, that all lawful powers are from God, and he that resisteth them resisteth the authority of Divine power. Abraham's warrant for killing his son was more authentic and express, than we can have for any particular action, which we privately conceive as evil: but not more authentic and express, than many Divine precepts for obedience unto lawful governors are. As his warrant was better, so had his action without it been more desperate, than such as superior powers usually impose upon inferiors. The former instance then was brought, principally, to mitigate the rigour of their preciseness, who stiffly maintain, that no obedience can legitimate such actions, as without it would be evil; but all must be performed only in matters presupposed good and lawful, or at least, acknowledged for indifferent unto private men, before enjoined by public authority. The contradictory to which universal negative appears most true, in this particular affirmative of Abraham's resolution and obedience: from which we may further argue thus: As the immediate interposition of Divine authority made that action holy and religious, which otherwise had been barbarously impious; so may the interposition of authority derived from God, make some actions, which, barely considered, would be apparently evil, desperate, or doubtful, to be honest, good, and lawful. To beat

one that is *sui juris*, at his own disposition, and in his right mind, against, or one that is not such, with his consent, were insolent wrong; because we have no power over the one, the other none over himself, to authorize such usage of his body. What would it be, then, in private men, to beat such as they know for God's ambassadors, though requested by them so to do; when as the very request might seem to argue some present distemper or distraction of mind? No doubt, but he that refused to smite his neighbour prophet (whether Elisha or some other; the story is in the First of Kings [a]) did not only pretend, but truly had some scruple of conscience, lest he should offend, either that general law of not doing wrong unto his neighbour, or that peculiar precept, *Do my prophets no harm:* and yet for his disobedience to the prophet's command, became a sacrifice to the lion. But he that took the prophet's authority for his warrant, though he smote, and in smiting wounded him, yet did he not hurt his own conscience a whit, but rather by thus doing preserved it whole, notwithstanding the former precept of *doing God's prophets no harm.* [b]To rifle
195 a Spanish ship upon private quarrels, were piracy in an English navigator; to kill a Spaniard, murder: but suppose the king's majesty, upon wrong done by that nation to our state, not satisfied, should grant his letters of mart; to rob them of their goods were no piracy, to take away their lives no murder: yet were the outward action in both cases the same, but the cir-

[a] 1 Kings xx. 35—37.

[b] Miles, cum obediens potestati sub qua legitime constitutus est, hominem occidit, nulla civitatis suæ lege reus est homicidii: imo nisi fecerit, reus est imperii deserti atque contempti. Quod si sua sponte atque authoritate fecisset, in crimen effusi humani sanguinis incidisset. Itaque unde punitur si fecerit injussus, inde punietur nisi fecerit jussus. Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 1. c. 26.

cumstances diverse, and the party that now undertakes it hath better motives than before he had.

4. Many instances might be brought unto this purpose, all evidently evincing thus much in general, that sundry actions which, undertaken out of private choice, would be wicked, (because we conceive in them some evil, without any conceit of possible good to set against it,) may by injunction of public authority become lawful to us; because we have new motives and better warrants for to do them; nor can our adventure upon such actions be censured for desperate, as before it might well have been. For first, whilst men of skill and judgment, appointed by God to advise in such matters, are otherwise persuaded than we in private are; the rule of Christian modesty binds us to suspect our own persuasion, and consequently, to think there may be some good even in that action wherein heretofore we thought was not; wherein as yet we ourselves see none, yet may safely persuade ourselves that others see, either more good or less evil. And unto this persuasion we must add this consideration also: that performance of obedience itself is a good and acceptable action in the sight of God. Or to come nearer the point,

5. [c] The goodness of our sincere obedience alone is not a consequent only of the action, but either an essential part, or such a circumstance or motive precedent, as brings a new essence for its concomitant, whereby the evil (which we out of private persuasions fear) may be countervailed, as well as if we did con-

[c] He that doth that which in his private opinion he suspecteth for evil because enjoined by lawful authority, in this respect doth not evil that good may ensue, seeing the goodness of obedience is no consequent of the action, but a motive precedent. The same reason holds in avoidance of scandal or bad example.

ceive some good probably included in the very object of the action itself, which might be equivalent to the evil feared. At the least then, some actions, which privately we would avoid as altogether evil, may upon the former motives be as lawfully undertaken, as those which we hold as probably good as evil.

6. But as every conceit of any good is not sufficient to countervail all conceit of evil, which may appear in the same matter; so neither may all authority countervail every private persuasion in any man; but the greater or more public the authority is, the more should it prevail with all private persons for the undertaking of such actions as otherwise would seem unlawful. The like may be said of the danger or scandal which might arise from the example of our disobedience, or non-performance of obedience. The greater the harm is likely to ensue such neglect of obedience, the more we are bound to be less scrupulous in obeying, for these are not mere consequents of the action. The reason why men often mistake them for such is, because they distinguish not between the real harms themselves, or scandalous events which follow the action, and the serious forecast of their danger. For as the means are precedent to the real assecution of the end, and yet the intention of the end doth always go before the right choice of means, and, as it
196 were, seasons them for the production of what we intend; so albeit the real events or harms be mere consequents, yet the mature and prudent forecast of danger likely to follow any action or resolution, must be admitted into the consultation precedent, and ought to sway our consciences, according to every degree of their probabilities unpartially conceived, as well as if we were as probably persuaded of so many degrees of

inherent goodness in the action itself or its essential object. For the avoidance of any evil equally probable is as good as the attaining of an equal good. If the danger which we justly fear may follow our neglect of obedience, whether in things forbidden or commanded, be as great as the evil which (upon like probability) we conceive in the very action itself; it should make us as willing to do what we are commanded, as to refuse; albeit we set apart the goodness which may arise from the mere act of obedience itself.

7. That both goodness of mere obedience, as obedience, and also the danger of evil likely to ensue our denial thereof, are either essential parts of the object, or such internal motives precedent, as may raise a new form in the action; may be gathered from what hath been said afore, of things indifferent. For the injunction of authority, as none, I think, will deny, makes things which to have done, or not to have done, was before indifferent, now not to be such, but necessary and good. So as not only the obedience is to be thought good, but the very action wherein obedience is seen, though before indifferent, is now inherently good, and the omission of it would be in itself evil, and not by consequent only. For obedience either is, or causeth a new form or essential difference, which doth as it were sublimate the outward action, to an higher nature and quality than it was capable of before. For the same reason may this goodness of obedience, and the due consideration of harms which may follow its refusal, make such actions, as before had been evil for us out of private resolutions to have undertaken, not to be any more evil, but good. The difficulty only is, what private doubts or dislikes may be countervailed by public authority, or what certain rule may be given when they may, and when they may not.

Some obedience may alter that evil which appears in some actions: because any obedience (though in the lowest degree) doth make actions which without it were indifferent, to be truly good.

To give precise rules what actions may of evil become good by obdience, is very difficult.

8. General rules in this case are very hard to be given, because the circumstances may be many and diverse. The authority may be greater or less; so may their dislike that are to perform obedience be of the things enjoined. The injunction likewise may be more or less peremptory. Sometimes it may seem to resemble rather an advice, than absolute command; sometimes rather to adjure, than command; sometimes the parties in authority may be of less, and the parties of whom obedience is exacted, of greater reach, and deeper insight in those matters whereunto obedience is enjoined, according to the diversity of the subject of obedience, which sometime may be such, wherein men of experience or practice are to be most believed, wherein concurrence of judgments and multitude of voices may argue more truth; sometimes the subject of obedience may be matters of abstruse speculation, wherein one man of profound judgment is more to be believed, than five hundred but of ordinary capacity. For as things visible, but far distant, so matters of abstruse speculation, cannot be discerned by multitude
197 of eyes, but by clearness of sight; and as he that could discern ships in the Carthaginian, from the Lilibæan haven, saw more than all Xerxes' army could in like distance; so doth it oft fall out, that some one profound judicious contemplator sees clearly that truth, which all the wits of the same age had not been able without him to discover. Such men may sin in obeying authority, whereunto others in yielding obedience sin not; because they can discern the unlawfulness of the command itself better than others. But unless a man can justly plead this, or some other like peculiar reason or privilege, it is a very suspicious and dangerous case to disobey lawful authority, (whether spiritual or temporal,) in such matters as he thinks others of

his own rank may with safe conscience obey, or in such matters, whereunto he sees many men, by his own confession of great judgment and integrity of life, yielding obedience with alacrity. For if thus he think of them, he cannot but suspect himself and his persuasions of error; nay he cannot be otherwise persuaded, but that the commandment, or public injunction of authority, is not absolutely against God's commandment; for so it could not be obeyed, with safe conscience, by men of skill and integrity. And this I take to be the safest general rule that can be given in this case: Not to consider the particular matters enjoined, with such of their circumstances or consequents as we out of our private imaginations conceive or fear, so much as the general form of public injunction, as it indistinctly concerns all. If we can truly discern the law or public act itself to be against God's law, and such as will lay a necessity upon us of transgressing God's commandments, if we yield obedience to particulars enjoined by it; our apostles have already answered for us, *It is better to obey God than men*[d]. Christ had commanded them to preach the gospel: the priests and other governors forbid them to preach Christ. Here was a contradiction in the laws themselves. But God commands us to obey the powers ordained by him; and their commandments are particular branches of God's general commandments for this purpose: and he that disobeyeth them, disobeyeth God, unless their commandments be contrary to some other of God's commandments. And it is a course as preposterous as dangerous, to disobey authority, because we dislike the things commanded by it, in respect of ourselves, or upon some persuasion peculiar to us, not common to all. For seeing obedience is God's

A certain rule when authority may be disobeyed, without whose observation disobedience is always more suspicious than safe.

[d] Acts iv. 19.

express commandment; yea seeing we can no more obey, than love God, whom we have not seen, but by obeying our superiors whom we have seen: true spiritual obedience, were it rightly planted in our hearts, would bind us, rather to like well of the things commanded for authority's sake, than to disobey authority for the private dislike of them. Both our disobedience to the one and dislike of the other are unwarrantable, unless we can truly derive them from some formal contradiction or opposition betwixt the public or general injunction of superiors, and express law of the Most High.

Such as disobey public injunctions upon suspicion or fear lest their practice might occasion evil, are usually taken in their own fear, and fall into that very sin which they seek to avoid.

9. It will be replied, that albeit the general form of public injunction be not absolutely unlawful, nor the things enjoined (for this reason) essentially or necessarily evil; yet are these most unexpedient, and may be grand occasions of great evil.

He that is thus persuaded might, as far as became
198 his place, dissuade any public act concerning such matters; and yet withal was bound to consider, whether the want of such an act might not occasion as great evils as he fears may follow the practice of such obedience as it commands; or whether other might not as probably foresee some equivalent good which he sees not. But after such acts are publicly made, and obedience duly demanded, [e]he that denies it upon fear only of some evil that may follow, doth give great occasion to others of committing that evil which he himself by this refusal certainly commits, he opens the gap to that capital mischief of public societies,

e In vitium ducit culpæ fuga, si caret arte. As we may not do evil that good may ensue, so may we not omit any good lest evil might happen thereon; and yet obedience by all men's consent is good. Thus from an unnecessary fear of the former men fall into the latter, (which is but a sister-sin,) by denying obedience which in itself is good, for fear lest they should give occasion of evil.

anarchy and disobedience. In doubts of this nature, it will abundantly suffice to make sincere protestation in the sight of God, or if need require, before men, that we undertake not such actions upon any private liking of the things enjoined, but only upon sincere respect of performing obedience to superiors, whom God hath appointed to make laws for us, but not us to appoint them what laws they should make, nor to judge of their equity being made, save only where the form of the commandment is contrary to some of God's commandments, so as the particulars enjoined become thereby essentially and necessarily evil. In such case, the laws of superiors are already judged and condemned by God's law, by which whilst they stand uncondemned, they shall condemn us for disobedience both to God's laws and them, albeit we stand in doubt, whether that which they enjoin would not be most unlawful for us to do, if we were left unto our private choice. For seeing the case stands in controversy betwixt us and our superiors; we should do as we are commanded by them, and refer the final decision to the supreme Judge, whether they do well or ill in making such laws, as to us may seem to be occasions of evil, but whether they shall prove so or no, he best knows that only can prevent the danger. We, as I said before, might advise if we were thereunto called, for the mitigation or abrogating of such laws, but judge or condemn them, by the probabilities or fears of their consequents, we may not, but only where they are already judged by the law of God. What private man is there that knows the secret intents or purposes of the state, in most actions of public service? Can any man doubt but that a great many oft fear some dangerous consequents of those services wherein they are employed? Why then do most men think themselves

bound to obey the state, against their private doubts or fears? "It is enough that we know such businesses," (as for example, wars with foreigners,) "not to be unlawful in the general[f]," and the determinations of wars, or like business, to be referred to the king and his council: but whether this or that war be justly undertaken by them or no; common soldiers, nay captains are not to judge, nor to detract obedience, albeit they suspect the lawfulness of the quarrel, or could wish for peace if they were in place to determine of such matters. But if the whole state should command promiscuous use of women, adultery, murder of our brethren uncondemned by law, blasphe-
199 my, or the like: such commandments were not to be obeyed, but we are rather bound to suffer death ourselves, than to be their instruments in such actions: for here is a direct contradiction betwixt the forms of such laws and the laws of God.

What hath been spoken of authority in general, applied to spiritual authority.

10. From what hath hitherto been delivered, we may collect, that superiors, or men in authority, are to be obeyed in such points, as their inferiors are not at leisure to examine, or not of capacity to discern, or not of power or place to determine whether they be lawful or no. Thus much at the least is common to all absolute authority, of what kind soever. And from the former places alleged, containing the commission of priests or ministers, it is most evident, that the lawful pastor or spiritual overseer hath as absolute authority

[f] Thus much St. Austin taketh as granted by all. For he bringeth in these words following to infer a conclusion denied by his adversary. Vir justus, si forte sub rege nomine etiam sacrilego militet, recte potest illo jubente bellare, civicæ pacis ordinem servans. Cui, quod jubetur, vel, non esse contra Dei præceptum certum est, vel, utrum sit, certum non est: ita ut fortasse reum regem faciat iniquitas imperandi, innocentem autem militem ostendat ordo serviendi. Aug. l. 22. contra Faustum Manichæum, cap. 75.

to demand belief or obedience in Christ's, as any civil magistrate hath to demand temporal obedience in the state or prince's name: and if any of Christ's fold deny obedience, or appeal from his pastor, without just and evident reason, he doth thereby deny Christ, and endanger his own soul, as much as he doth his body that resists a lawful magistrate, when he is charged by him in his prince's name to obey. And as in temporal causes, if a man appeal without just occasions, from an inferior court to a higher, he is not thereby freed, but rather to be returned to the inferior court from which he appealed, or to be censured (besides his other facts) for his unlawful appeal: so likewise, such as upon pretence of ignorance in God's word, or liberty of conscience, appeal from ordinary ministers to Christ the chief Shepherd, are not thereby presently acquitted, but stand still liable to the censure of their pastors, either to bind them if they continue obstinate, as well for this their disobedience in appealing from them, as for their other sins; or to loose and remit their sins, if they repent. For God hath appointed his ministers to govern his church, and governors are to be obeyed in that they are governors, unless such as are to perform obedience do perfectly know, or have reasons (such as they would not be afraid to render to Christ in that dreadful day) to suspect, that their pastors in their commands go beyond their commission, or the express laws and ordinances of Christ Jesus, the supreme Governor and Commander both of pastor and people.

11. But many men are ofttimes strongly persuaded, that the very form of the law or their superiors' injunctions, are opposite unto God's laws, when in truth they are not. And hence they think they deny obedience upon sincerity and conscience, when indeed they

Unto what a man stands bound being strongly persuaded that the laws of

superiors are against God's laws, and wherein his sin consisteth, if he disobey upon such strong but ill grounded persuasions.

do not, but in both cases are merely blinded by affection. The question is, whether denying obedience upon such persuasions, they do well or ill? That the persuasion is evil, is without controversy. The difficulty is, whether (the persuasion remaining in full strength, without any mixture of suspicion, or apprehension of their error) they add a new sin of disobedience, besides the sinfulness of their erroneous persuasion, or that habitual affection whence it springs: that is, whether they should do better in obeying against the full strength of their persuasion, or in disobeying, whilst it remains? If they obey, they sin against their consciences, and prefer the laws of man before God's: if they do better in disobeying, it may seem an unhappy error, which exempts them from the yoke of obedience, whereunto the orthodox are subject. The answer is easy; Whosoever shall deny obedience upon such persuasions doth commit disobedience actually: not that it were better for him to obey, (supposing the strength of his persuasion to the contrary,) but he actually sins in that he suffers not the strength of his persuasion to be broken by the stroke of authority, but rather suffers it to confront authority: so that his sin (if we will speak precisely) consists only in the exercise of his former persuasion, or in the motion of his habitual affection; not in any proper act of that peculiar habit or vice[g], which we call *disobedience*. That whereunto he stands bound by authority, is to adjure his former persuasion, that he may with safe conscience obey; or (to speak more distinctly) he is not bound immediately to obey in the particulars now enjoined, nor to renounce his persuasion without more ado, but

[g] It may be questioned whether there be any such peculiar vice distinct from all untoward affection, or whether all disobedience consist only in the formal opposition between some one or other affection, and the law, seeking to restrain it.

to enter into his own soul and conscience, to examine the grounds or motives of his persuasion, to rate his own wit and judgment at its due worth and no higher, to renounce all self-conceit, or jealousies of disparagement, in yielding to that he had formerly impugned, that so he may sincerely and uncorruptedly judge of the truth proposed, and esteem aright of authority, and others' worth that yield unto it. If we would sincerely obey in these points, which are the immediate and first principles of true Christian obedience, the grounds of erroneous persuasions would quickly fail: so as we should be always ready to obey in the particulars, whereunto obedience was justly demanded. But of the grounds, occasions of erroneous persuasions, and their remedies, by God's assistance, more at large in the article of the Godhead, and some other treatises of Christian faith.

CHAP. VII.

What Actions are properly said to be not of Faith, *in the Apostle's sense: what manner of Doubt it is which makes them such.*

1. AGAINST all that hath been hitherto delivered concerning this point, that happily may be yet objected, which hath always bred greatest scruple for yielding obedience in doubtful cases. For our apostle saith, *Whatsoever is not of faith is sin*[h]: but whilst men obey spiritual governors, in those particulars, for which they shew no scripture, this obedience is not of faith; (for faith is always ruled by the word;) *ergo*, this obedience is sinful, even in this respect alone, that it hath not the word for its warrant, but much more if we doubt whether the things enjoined be good or bad: for doubting breeds condemnation, as our apo-

[h] Rom. xiv. 23.

stle in the same place gathereth. ***He that doubteth is condemned if he eat, because he eateth not of faith.***

201 2. Unto the former part of this objection the answer is easy and brief: Seeing God's word commands obedience in general unto spiritual pastors, and that in most express terms; it doth warrant our obedience in particulars, which are not forbidden by the same word. But for clearing of the latter objection, because this place of St. Paul is as often urged to as little purpose as any other in the whole book of God besides, it shall not be amiss to consider, first, in what sense it is true, *Whatsoever is not of faith is sin.* Secondly, what manner of *doubt* it is, that makes a thing to be *not of faith,* in that sense which our apostle means.

Three diverse meanings of this phrase, *not of faith.* The first meaning.

A thing may be said to be of faith three ways: first, strictly and properly, that is said to be *ex fide,* "of faith," which is an act or exercise of the habit or virtue of faith; as to believe in God, in Christ, or to assent unto any article in the Creed. In this sense, no man I think doth urge this place of our apostle, *Whatsoever is not of faith is sin.* For then all deeds of charity should be sinful, seeing they are no acts or exercises of the habit of faith, but of charity, which is a distinct habit from faith, according to best divines: nor can we properly say, that such works flow from faith, as the fruit doth from the root, seeing charity is no branch of faith, but a coeval stem of infused sanctifying grace, the common root to both. Such acts then may be said to be *of faith,* only because the doctrine of faith enjoins them, and the habit or virtue of faith inclines the soul unto them, and moves charity unto the exercise of them. And this is the second sense or meaning of the speech *ex fide,* "of faith;" that is, those things are said to be *of faith,* or to proceed from faith, which are commanded by the doctrine of faith, or unto which we

The second meaning.

are inclined or moved by the habit or virtue of faith. But neither is it always true, *Whatsoever is not of faith*, in this sense, *is sin*. For so no recreation, no merriment, not eating and drinking, with many other works both of reason and nature, generally nothing merely indifferent, could be truly *of faith;* at the least at this or that time. How then are not all these sinful, seeing they are not of faith, in none of the former senses, being neither acts of faith, nor enjoined by the doctrine of faith? This necessarily enforceth us to seek a third signification of the former words.

4. Thirdly then, that is said to be *not of faith*, whatsoever is not warrantable by the doctrine of faith, whatsoever conscience, or the virtue of faith, being consulted, cannot countenance or allow, but rather dissuade. And in this sense, all that may be said to be *ex fide*, "of faith," whatsoever is warrantable by the doctrine of faith, whatsoever faith, conscience, or the law of reason and nature can approve or allow of, either absolutely, or at that present whilst they are undertaken, albeit they do not enjoin them, or impel us unto them (at the least) for that season. As for example, if a man, free from necessary employments of his calling, should ride half a score of miles to be merry with his honest friend; this were neither an act of faith, nor an exercise enjoined by faith, and yet truly *of faith*, in our apostle's sense, and no way sinful, because warrantable by the doctrine of faith: neither faith, nor conscience, nor law of nature, would condemn him for so doing. But if his dearest friend lay on his death-bed, and did expect some comfort by his presence, his absence upon such light occasions would be sinful, because it could not be *of faith*. Neither the doctrine of faith, nor the law of reason, could countenance such an action. Such resolutions may

The third meaning only meant by our apostle.

202 properly be said, *not of faith*, because they cannot proceed but from some inclination or disposition opposite to the habit of true faith, and the dictates of natural well-disposed, much more of sanctified conscience. Suppose some man's conscience were so scrupulous, as to doubt whether he might ride so far to be merry with his friend, when he had no urgent occasions to withdraw him; and another so confident, and fully persuaded in his mind, as to make no question whether he should meet his friend in a plague house, or when his own father lay a dying. The question is, whether of these two doth sin the more; or if both do not sin, whether of them is freed from sin, and by what means? The former, as is supposed, doubts of the action, and yet doth it: the other doth the like, but worse, and doubteth not. If that journey which in itself is lawful, (supposing the former case,) becomes unlawful to the one, because he doubts it is unlawful; then may the other's confident persuasion make his expedition lawful unto him, although in itself (supposing the case above mentioned) it were unlawful. For who can give any reason, why confidence of persuasion may not as well legitimate what otherwise is unlawful, as doubt or scruple illegitimate that which otherwise were lawful and warrantable. So that, according to these grounds, the former party above mentioned should sin, not the latter. And our apostle's speeches (unless they admit some restraint) will infer thus much[i]. *I know and am persuaded through the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing unclean of itself: but unto him that judgeth any thing to be unclean, to him it is*

[i] Our apostle's words, unless the universality of their form be restrained by the matter or subject, infer as forcibly, that confident persuasion might acquit us, as doubting condemn us in any action. Yet confidence of persuasion doth never acquit us,

unclean. And again, *This man esteemeth one day above another day; another man counteth every day alike: let every man be fully persuaded in his mind:* as if he added, *and then there is no danger*[k]. And yet if we should but consult natural reason, who could deny that he that made an idle journey, whereby he might endanger his own, or neglect his father's life, did sin most grievously; albeit he were most fully persuaded to the contrary: yea the stronger his persuasion were, the greater his sin. On the contrary, he that should undertake the like journey, having no serious occasions to withdraw him, if the truth be rightly scanned, did not sin at all, unless perhaps in doubting whether he sinned or no. For every doubt of what we do, doth not make our action sinful, or *not of faith:* which is now to be discussed.

5. If that speech of our apostle, *He that doubteth is condemned if he eat,* were to be universally understood of all doubts, or all actions; we should never have an end of doubting, nor any beginning of many good and most necessary works. This very persuasion, were it throughly and generally planted in all men's hearts, were enough to bring all states to utter anarchy, and to set the whole world in combustion. For what enterprise is there of greater moment, but diverse men will be of diverse minds concerning the lawfulness or unlawfulness of it? Who could not by this exception excuse himself from performance of necessary allegiance or service? If the king's majesty should wage war against the Spaniard, he that were addicted to their religion might reply, I should be as willing as another to do my king and country any service, but I doubt whether

The effects of such scrupulosities as our apostle's rule universally understood would necessarily breed, are contrary to the analogy of faith.

but in matters presupposed indifferent; no more can doubting condemn us without some inequality in the matter.

[k] Rom. xiv. 14. and 5, 6.

I may afford him my goods to the hurt and damage of Roman catholics: the cause I am afraid is most
203 unlawful, and will bring God's plague upon this land, therefore I may not hazard my life in it, nor adventure to shed the innocent blood of our holy mother the church's children. The like might a Lutheran say, if war should fall out betwixt our state and the Saxons; or if with some other reformed churches, the like might be said by most in our land: finally, there would be continual distraction in the managing of all public affairs. But such scrupulous demurs in civil matters are either seldom made, or quickly answered by the temporal sword. And are they less dangerous in cases as little doubtful, (wherein the consequents feared are of no less moment,) when they are given to the chief managers of our spiritual warfare, in times wherein disobedience threatens dissolution of Christ's army, that must fight his battles against Satan and the man of sin? Is the authority of binding and loosing, opening and shutting the kingdom of heaven, less than the authority of life and death, or the disposing powers of temporal goods? What should be the reason then, that every scruple should be held sufficient to deny obedience (in matters of greatest consequence) unto spiritual, more than temporal authority? Out of doubt, that rule of St. Paul doth no more warrant the one than the other. The true reason is, most men fear temporal censures, more than either God's or his; an ordinary gaol, more than hell; and had rather be doorkeepers in great men's houses, than glorified saints in heaven: but of this hereafter. To proceed then with our apostle's rule. Were it universally to be understood, it would bring all Christian souls into such perpetual, miserable, inextricable perplexities, as they should always live in suspense, and scarce resolve

Denial of obedience upon scruple, yea even the scruple or doubt itself, may be *not of faith*, as well as the positive action, of whose lawfulness they doubt: whence the objection, which many draw from the apostle's rule, is most forcible against themselves.

upon any thing. For his rule holds as true in the omission of what should be done, as in the commission of what we think should not be done. Suppose then thy pastor commands thee to obey in this or that particular, which he verily thinks either necessary to be undertaken by all Christians, at all or most times; or else most expedient for thy soul's health, the setting forth of God's glory, or the good of others, at this present. But thou art contrary minded, and doubtest whether thou mayest do it lawfully or no. Why? because thou hast no warrant for it out of scripture, or because he brings no necessary reasons why thou shouldst do it, but bare probabilities, which cannot oversway that doubt which thou hast framed unto thy conscience. But he can shew thee express commandment out of scripture, that thou shouldst obey him. Thou wilt say, In things lawful only. This he avoucheth to be such; thou deniest it. He can shew thee again express words of scripture, that thou shouldst not be wise in thine own conceit, but be willing to learn of thy pastor, *who is the messenger of the Lord of hosts, at whose mouth thou shouldst seek the law, and on whom,* as our apostle saith, *thou dost depend.* Tell me then, first, by what place of scripture thy disobedience in this particular can be warranted? How canst thou choose but doubt, whether thy denial of obedience be *of faith* or no, seeing God's word commands thee, in general terms, to obey, and nowhere wills thee to disobey in this particular. Or if thou thinkest thou hast some general warrant for disobedience, because thou supposest this particular to be unlawful; yet how canst thou but doubt, whether 204
thou hast learned the precepts of Christian modesty as thou shouldst? Whether thou hast learned to deny thyself and thy affections? whether thou hast learned

to reverence thy pastor as God's messenger, not taking any offence at his person? Finally, whether thou hast abandoned all such delights and desires, as usually are the grounds of false persuasions, and impediments of sincere obedience? If thou canst not be fully and truly resolved in these, then must thou doubt (whether thou wilt or no) whether thy doubt or scruple itself be of faith or conscience, or of humour only. And if thou canst not but doubt herein, then mayest thou assure thyself, that thy denial of obedience is not *of faith*, and therefore sinful: if the apostle's rule (as thou supposest) were universally true, that whosoever doth any thing, of whose lawfulness he doubts, doth sin, because he doth it not *of faith*. But I dare not deny, but that sundry of Christ's flock may sometimes either deny, or perform obedience unto their pastors, not without doubt or scruple whether they should do so or no, and yet not sin in either. In performing obedience they sin not, unless the doubt be very great or probable, and the evil which they conceive in the action extraordinary. Again, in denying obedience they sin not, albeit they doubt whether they should do so or no: if the evil, which upon mature deliberation and serious forecast they much suspect, be extraordinary, such as cannot be recompensed by the goodness, which appears in the act of obedience, nor in the fruits of the action itself, which their pastor proposeth as a motive to undertake it. According to those grounds must our apostle's speech be limited, *He that doubteth is condemned if he eat, because he eateth not of faith.*

A man in some cases may either obey or disobey authority, not without doubt, and yet without sin.

6. What then? Is every man that eateth any thing, which he doubts whether it were better for him not to eat, straight condemned? God forbid. He that hath such a tender infant's squeamish conscience, as to think thus, had need to have a very ancient, grave, wise, and

moderate stomach: and it were fit he never came at any feast or table furnished with variety of dishes.

7. But for a direct answer to our apostle's speech. It must be granted, that they of whom he speaks did sin in eating when they doubted[m]. For if they had been as fully persuaded in their minds, as the apostle himself, and sundry others of their brethren were, they had not sinned in eating the selfsame meat: yet for all this they sinned not in eating (simply) when they doubted, but in eating such meats when they doubted: other meats they might have eaten with little or no offence; albeit with more uncertainty, whether it had been better for them to eat or no. Nor was it so much a positive doubt, as rather a rashness, or want of settled resolution, in many of them, which made them sin; as may appear from the circumstance of the place: yet was this eating not only a sin, but a most grievous sin, in all that did eat such meats, without a constant and well grounded resolution. Both the sin, and the extraordinary grievousness of it, did hence arise; they had eaten of things sacrificed to idols, or other meats (in their judgment) accursed by the law, which they suspected not only to be unlawful to be eaten, but doubted whether in eating them they should not be partakers of the table of devils, initiated to the sacraments of idolatry, or sepa- 205
rated from the Israel of God, or finally become apostatas from faith, and the holy doctrine. As on the one side, the evil which they feared was extraordinarily grievous, and the reasons of their fear such as could not easily be cast off, but would be always likely

[m] It was not the doubt or scruple, but the quality of the things doubted of, which made their actions, of whom our apostle speaketh, so grievously sinful. For the evil which upon great probabilities they feared, was incomparably greater than any good possible to ensue upon their eating.

to breed despair after the action were past, albeit many of them did shake off all doubt for the present: so on the other part, there was not *quid pro quo*, not the least possible surmise of performing any degree of any good or acceptable service in the sight of God, by their eating. For, as St. Paul in the same place notes, *the kingdom of God is not meat or drink, but righteousness and peace, whosoever in these* (as if he had said, not in eating and drinking) *serveth Christ, is acceptable unto God, and is approved of men.* Those then of whom he there spake, accounting it a chief part of their righteousness to abstain from all unclean things, their danger in eating was in quantity exceeding great, and for the quality spiritual: their loss in abstaining from such meats (being provided of others) was in quantity as nothing, and for the quality merely corporal. Wherefore thus to have eaten, with the least scruple of such grievous danger, was worse than Esau's alienating of his birthright for a mess of pottage. And albeit they had doubted to-day, and grown resolute to-morrow, upon no better motives than the bare examples of others; or in an humour or bravery, because they would not doubt any longer, but use their liberty as others did: yet had such resolutions been deadly. For opinions of this nature may not be cast off in a moment, nor may a man adventure upon a doubt of such fearful consequence, but upon great motives of some spiritual good; the probabilities of attaining which may countervail the evil feared: or upon serious deliberation, and perspicuous discovery of their former error, and causeless scruple. From these grounds did our apostle infer that exhortation, *Let every man be fully persuaded in his mind*[n]. He exacteth not this fulness of persuasion in matters of ordinary

[n] Verse 5.

consequence; too much curiosity in them always occasioneth less diligence or circumspection, than were requisite for establishing our minds with true faith, in points of greatest moment: nor did he mean such fulness of persuasion hot spirits usually enforce upon themselves, without mature and sober deliberation. For such resolutions, albeit they may seem most strong, as indeed they are for the time exceeding stiff; yet are they easily to be undermined by Satan, the inward temptations of the flesh, or other occurrents; and after once they begin to fail, such as lean most unto them, fall so much the more headlong into deepest despair, by how much they have been stronger or higher pitched; as it seems some of these, to whom he writes, had been too bold in eating, and were afterwards tortured by the sting of conscience. The end of our apostle's exhortation was this, seeing their persuasions, concerning the unlawfulness of such meats, had been (as it were) bred up with the parties doubting, they should in no case adventure upon the contrary practice, but upon long and well-settled resolution, grounded upon a sincere and clear manifestation of their former error. For as the physicians of our bodies do not always apply such medicines as they know most forcible to expel the present disease, if the same be contrary to our former long accustomed diet; (for *vitiosæ consuetudini indulgendum est*, there must a care be had that a custom, though depraved, be not 206
too violently thwarted, or too suddenly broken off;) so likewise must skilful physicians of the soul, not seek so much to expel inveterate opinions (though erroneous) by present force of strongest arguments, or eager exhortations; but rather suffer them to wear out their strength by little and little, never infusing contrary persuasions, but mitigated and qualified, and that

sparingly, as opportunity shall serve. Otherwise, what one saith of nature herself—

> *Expellas furca licet, usque recurret:*
> Though with strong hand she be outthrown,
> She still repairs unto her own—

will prove true of that *altera natura*, inveterate custom. It, suddenly expulsed, will one time or other return as violently; and so shall the relapse be much worse than the disease itself.

8. For these reasons did they also offend most grievously, who by their example or instigation did cause their weak brethren to eat such meats as they made this conscience of: for so *they caused them, for whom Christ Jesus died, to perish for their meat's sake*[n], as it is, verse 15. Whereas the loss of meat, or life itself, should, by the rule of charity, be accounted gain, in respect of our brethren's inestimable danger, which may ensue upon such actions. Better it were we should suffer ourselves to starve for meat, and so procure our own corporal, than occasion their eternal death by our example: so saith our apostle; *If meat offend my brother, I will eat no meat while the world standeth, that I may not offend my brother. It were better for me to die, than that any man should make my rejoicing vain*[o]. Nor did our apostle in this place speak hyperbolically, or more than he meant to have performed, if he had been called to such a trial of his resolution, as some of his forefathers had been. So we read, when Antiochus's officers, out of great love (as they esteemed it) unto the good old man, had permitted Eleazar, one of the principal scribes, to make choice of such flesh as he would, and might safely eat by his

[n] See 1 Cor. viii. 11. Rom. xiv. 15.
[o] 1 Cor. viii. 13. ix. 15.

country laws; only requesting him to dissemble by his silence, as though he had eaten the things appointed by the king, even the flesh of his idols' sacrifices; albeit he might have had life upon this condition, yet he confidently answered, *and willed them straightways to send him to the grave. For it becometh not our age,* said he, *to dissemble, whereby many young persons might think that Eleazar, being fourscore years old and ten, were now gone to another religion; and so through mine hypocrisy, for a little time of a transitory life, they might be deceived by me, and I should procure malediction, and reproach to mine old age.* This eating which he refused, could never have been of faith, that is, no way warrantable, by the doctrine or principles of faith, which had taught him the contrary; as he well expressed in the next words following, *For though I were now delivered from the torments of men, yet could I not escape the hand of the Almighty, neither alive nor dead. Wherefore I will now change this life manfully, and will shew myself such as mine age requireth*[q].

9. And it should be considered, that the parties of whom our apostle speaks in the forementioned place, were never enjoined by any lawful superiors, either civil or ecclesiastic, to eat such meats as they made scruple of: yea the very original or fountain of their scruple was from the express law of God, denouncing fearful judgments against all such as polluted themselves with unclean meats: so that their eating, albeit solemnly enjoined by the greatest powers on earth, could not fall within the subject of true obedience, because the laws enjoining it (as they conceived) stood actually condemned, by the express law of God to the contrary, in defence whereof many of their ancestors

207 Two principal circumstances to be considered, peculiar to those of whom our apostle speaketh.

[q] 2 Macc. vi. 21—24, &c.

had exposed their bodies to most grievous tortures; and the refusal of such meats, as they made scruple of, had been always accounted the justest title of glorious martyrdom amongst the Jews. And albeit these laws concerning unclean meats were indeed antiquated at the alteration of the priesthood; yet should we not marvel, if at the first planting of the gospel, many good Christians did make great conscience of eating such meats as were forbidden by them, when St. Peter himself, long after our Saviour's ascension, durst scarce take God's own word against his written law, then not abrogated (as he supposed) in this case. For when *there came a voice unto him, saying*[r], *Arise, Peter; kill, and eat. Peter said, Not so, Lord; for I have never eaten any thing that is polluted or unclean. And the voice came unto him again the second time, saying, The things that God hath purified do not thou account polluted.* Nor was Peter, as it seems, yet fully satisfied; for it is added in the next words, *This was so done thrice: and the vessel was drawn up again into heaven.* All these circumstances abundantly evince, that it was not the bare doubt or scruple, but the quality of the things doubted of, and the inveterate opinion, or abominable conceit, which the Jews, or other of their instruction, had of the meats themselves, that made their eating to be οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως[s], so far from being of faith, that it rather seemed to overthrow it. Had the excess of the danger they feared been less, or had there been any ordinary possibility of any proportionable good to set against it; their sin in eating had been less, albeit the grounds of their scruple had been greater, or their persuasions one way or other less settled.

[r] Acts x. 13.

[s] This phrase includeth a contrariety or opposition unto faith, as לא עמי, אי כבד and many like phrases, as usual in the Hebrew dialect, as the Latin compounds *immitis*, *immisericors*, &c.

10. Albeit this exposition of our apostle may seem strange and new to many honest and well disposed minds in our church; yet in truth, the manner of the deduction only is new, the doctrine itself is generally held by all divines, though not expressly in conclusion, yet in the premises, wherein it is essentially contained, and may be most evidently deduced; thus,

11. All sin consists either in preferring none before some, the less before a greater; or a corporal before a spiritual good[t]: the heinousness of sin, in the excess of difference, betwixt the true good neglected, and the seeming good embraced, which is either absolutely evil, or else a far less good, which in competition with the greater good is likewise to be accounted evil. Now, if whatsoever be not of faith be a sin; then by the former rules it is a sin, because a less good is preferred before a greater, or some evil chosen without any proportionable good, that might serve as a sufficient recompense. But if the nature of actual sin consist in one of these two; it is questionable, how or in what 208
case, doubting or scruple of what we do, doth make our actions sinful. Briefly, it is an external cause or circumstance concurring to the making of a sinful action, not any essential part or internal circumstance of the sin itself once caused. And it thus concurs only, when that which in itself is evil, or proves so in the event, would not be evil unto us, unless we had some doubt or scruple; that is, some notice or apprehension of it as evil: in such cases indeed we should not sin, unless we had formerly doubted: but to speak exactly, we do not sin, because we do what we doubt of, but because in doing some actions, when we doubt, we exactly prefer evil before good; which otherwise we

How scruples, or doubt of what we do, concur to make our actions sinful.

As when the evil feared is greater than any good that can be hoped.

[t] The former interpretation necessarily followeth from grounds of divinity acknowledged by all.

should not, albeit we did the selfsame action. For it could not be evil to us, without the apprehension of its nature, so as the apprehension of it concurs to the making of it evil. And because in all doubts or scruples there is some apprehension of evil, therefore when we doubt, in cases above mentioned, our actions are not of faith, but sinful. But if either we could be fully persuaded to the contrary; that is, if we could out of sincerity of conscience and settled judgment discern that very thing which either we ourselves sometime did, or others yet, apprehend as evil, not to be truly evil, the same action which before had been, shall not be now sinful unto us; because we now prefer not evil before good. Or again, albeit the thing were in itself evil, (being prohibited by some positive law,) but we upon invincible or unculpable ignorance did not apprehend it for such; we should not actually sin in doing it, because in this case we could not truly be censured for preferring evil before good, (seeing the apprehension maketh it evil to us,) albeit we did prefer that which was evil before that which is good. As, for example, if a proselyte should have eaten swine's flesh, being altogether ignorant (not by his own, but the priest's negligence) of the Israelites' law to the contrary; he had done that which was evil, because forbidden by the law; but not ill, because he had no apprehension of it as evil, but did eat it without all scruple, as well as the strong in faith did in St. Paul's time. As doubting, in those cases wherein we have an apprehension of some excess of evil, makes men's actions not to be of faith; and want of doubt (so all other circumstances be observed) makes them to be according unto faith: so it ofttimes falls out, that such as nothing doubt whether they do ill or no, do sin far more than such, as not without great scruple of conscience make

Malum non male.

The same action, though simply evil in both,

the same sinister choice. For, ofttimes the causes why men make no scruple, or why they apprehend not the evil which they do, are such, as will necessarily make their actions worse, than if they had doubted, and yet had done the same. This rule holds always true, when the cause, why men doubt not of their actions, is some inordinate desire of gain, pleasure, or other like corrupt affection, or some strong humour of contradiction: not steadfast or well-grounded resolution, not pure simplicity, or invincible ignorance, not occasioned by default or negligence in our vocation. If scruple either hath not been conceived, or else expelled upon these later motives, our actions are thereby justifiable or excusable: but where strength of inordinate affection or desire either expels or impairs a scruple (of some excessive evil) which hath been conceived, (though amiss,) or hinders the conceiving of some such doubt or scruple, in matters whose unlawfulness might well be doubted of, or rather might clearly be discerned, and ought with resolution to be avoided; there the action is so much the more sinful, as the scruple is less, or their confidence or boldness that undertake it greater. The difference betwixt him that in this case doubteth, and him that doubteth not, is altogether such as moralists acknowledge betwixt the actions of intemperate and incontinent men.

may be less of faith in him that doth it confidently, than in another that doth it not without scruple.

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CHAP. VIII.

Who most transgress our Apostle's former Rule: with Directions for squaring our Actions unto it or other Rules of Faith.

1. FROM what hath been said in this point we may safely gather, that none in our days so much transgress, as those that persuade themselves they most precisely keep this rule of our apostle, which indeed was the rule of conscience and of nature. They of all others

transgress it most, that make no scruple of denying obedience, but confidently adventure upon any course of life, against their pastor's serious admonitions for their spiritual good. For whosoever doth anything for his own private commodity, or bodily good, which (though he doubt not) might upon due examination and attention to his pastor, seem doubtful whether it may not endanger his soul, or impair his spiritual estate, doth in so doing sin against his own soul, and wound his conscience: because there is no proportion between the good which he seeks and the evil which he might justly fear[u]. Such actions too well resemble our first parents' sin, who preferred the momentary pleasures of their licorish taste, before the perpetuity of their estate in paradise, wherein did grow much better fruit than that they so greedily longed for. And we may as truly say, that our first parents were condemned for eating, as those that doubted of the lawfulness of what they eat. They did not eat of faith more than the others, but less; although they were persuaded that God rather had dealt hardly with them in forbidding them to eat, than that they should give just offence to God in eating. But the bolder they were, the greater was their sin, and less of faith, nay most against faith; because their incontinent desires had expelled all fear, and made them confident.

2. The best method to square our actions to the rule of faith would be this. First, to be rightly instructed and persuaded in what order or rank of goodness

[u] Hoc itaque de uno cibi genere non edendo, ubi aliorum tanta copia subjacebat, tam leve præceptum ad observandum, tam breve ad memoria retinendum, (ubi præsertim nondum voluntati cupiditas resistebat, quod de pœna transgressionis postea subsecutum est,) tanto majore injustitia violatum est, quanto faciliore possit observantia custodiri. Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 14. cap. 12.

obedience to spiritual governors ought to be placed. Secondly, (having found out the true nature and quality, and due estimation of obedience in general,) to account the degrees of goodness which appear in this or that particular act of obedience. And these are to be taken, according to the generality or sovereignty of the authority commanding, or according to the manner and tenor of the command or charge itself; as, those commands are to be obeyed with more alacrity (although they proceed from the same or equal authority) in which obedience is demanded upon stricter or more 210
adjuring terms, or wherein the zealous desires of men in authority, are either more fully and significantly expressed to all, or more lively intimated unto us in particular.

3. Thirdly, to calculate the inconvenience or scandals that may arise from our disobedience. For albeit we might deny obedience in sundry particulars with far safer consciences than others could, yea, although it were indifferent for us (as perhaps in divers cases it is to some men) to perform or deny obedience; yet we should always have an especial care that we embolden not others (who have not the like motives, or cannot be so well persuaded) to do the like by our example[x]. For so we may commit the selfsame sin which they that were strong in faith did, by causing others to eat such meats as they either made scruple

[x] This is a point, which, I am persuaded, many have less regarded than had been requisite, as not considering that our apostle's rule might be violated, as well by the omission of some actions, as by the commission of others, or that this same offence might be given to weak and tender consciences, by emboldening them to deny obedience, as was given in our apostle's time, by emboldening them to eat of things suspected for unlawful. Nor can we doubt but many in our time have made scruple of matters enjoined by lawful authority, only from the example of others whom they reverenced.

of before they eat, or else were upbraided by their consciences after they had eaten: and (as I intimated before) unless disobedience be upon evident and well grounded resolutions, it is as dangerous a sin as a man can practise, and of all sins that are, it is most properly said to be οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως, not of faith, seeing faith and obedience (amongst all other virtues) are of most strict alliance: neither is there any breach or defect of faith, but in some disobedience or other; no sin, but in disobedience to the rule of faith. Which latter (God willing) shall afterwards more plainly appear.

4. Lastly, we are diligently to consider the hopes, or probabilities of goodness either inherent, or consequent to the actions themselves, which are to be undertaken.

5. All these considerations must be put in opposite balance to our doubts, or fears of evil, whether inherent or consequent to the same actions, or matters enjoined, if we were left to our own choice; or to the probabilities or jealousies which we may have, that the form of a public command is contrary to God's law. Although for doubts or scruples conceived out of private dislike to the things enjoined, only because we see no express warrant for them out of scripture, or because they go against our consciences; we need not so much to oppose former considerations to oversway them, as seek to extirpate them. For after the interposition of authority, we may rather suspect that these doubts are not of faith, but of humour, unless we can derive them from some opposition, betwixt the public edicts enjoining obedience, and the law of God, which must be presumed to countenance, as long as it doth not contradict, superiors' injunctions, because it gives authority and commission to make them. Every doubt or scruple that such edicts are formally or directly

contrary to God's law, is not sufficient to deny obedience unto them: nor do spiritual governors, in demanding obedience to such as their inferiors suspect to be against God's law, oppose human authority to Divine, or desire men to obey them rather than God, as some frivolously have objected. Indeed the least probability or suspicion of disobeying God should make us refuse to obey man, in case our disobedience unto man redounded only to man, and not to God. But in- 211
asmuch as Christ hath said, *He that heareth you, heareth me*, disobedience unto spiritual governors is disobedience unto Christ, yea unto God. And therefore obedience may not be denied unto such, but upon great and weighty motives, and serious examination of such reasons as move us to think that their edicts are contrary, or opposite to God's laws. Otherwise we should prefer a conjectural conceit or surmise of obeying God rather than man, before a greater probability of obeying God by obeying man. For it is certain in general, that men in spiritual authority should be obeyed, and that in obeying them we obey God; but uncertain and conjectural, (according to our supposition,) whether in this particular they should be disobeyed, and therefore uncertain whether God, by our denial of obedience, should be disobeyed or obeyed.

6. Albeit I must confess, there must a difference be put betwixt the immediate and direct disobeying of God's express laws, resulting from obedience unto man's laws that are opposite unto them; and the disobeying of God's laws mediately or by consequence; that is, by disobeying men's laws, whose authority is derived from them. As if a private man should obey a public magistrate commanding him, or his pastor persuading him, under some fair pretence to tell a lie, or prejudice his neighbour by false reports, he doth

By obeying human authority, derived from Divine, (in the general,) we may in some particulars enjoined by it, disobey Divine authority itself directly and immediately.

immediately and directly disobey the ninth commandment by thus obeying man. And this sin may justly seem greater than his that should deny obedience to public authority in such matters as are by it commended unto him for good, and as much tending unto God's glory as the former did to his dishonour; but yet such as the party denying obedience is not so persuaded of, nor hath any such particular, express, or immediate law of God for doing this, as the other had for not doing the former. This latter then disobeys God's law, which commands obedience to authority in lawful matters; but not so directly and immediately as the former did the ninth commandment. Wherefore the former sins are worse in their kind; the worst of them is worse than the worst of the latter; the least of the former, worse than the least of the latter kind: but in what degree or proportion they are worse, is hard to define, and therefore a very difficult point to determine, what degrees of probabilities, or what measure of fear, lest we should disobey God's laws immediately and directly, by obeying man's that seem opposite unto them, should oversway our general certainty that God's deputies on earth are to be obeyed, or our habitual inclination to Christian obedience grounded hereon. Most certain we are, that they must be obeyed in all lawful cases, or where their laws are not opposite unto God's: and if we were certain that theirs were contrary to God's laws, we are as certain by the doctrine of faith that they should be disobeyed. But when we doubt whether their decrees be against God's laws, we cannot but doubt, and doubting fear, lest we should disobey God directly in obeying them. And by the former reasons it is evident, that if the doubt were equal on both sides; that is, were it as probable that their commands are against God's as not; we

Hard to determine what degrees of fear, lest we should, by obeying man's laws, disobey God's laws immediately, ought to expel all fear of disobeying man's laws, whose authority in general is from God's.

were bound in conscience not to obey them; because we should commit a greater sin in obeying them, if they were indeed opposite, than we should in disobeying them, supposing they were not opposite or contrary 212
to God's laws. For in the one case we should disobey God's laws directly and immediately; in the other only mediately, and by consequence. Now of two evils equally probable, the less must be adventured upon, and the greater more eschewed.

Sometimes by disobeying man's injunctions we may disobey God's laws, both mediately and immediately.

7. Yet ofttimes again it may fall out, that the things commanded by public authority may be in themselves very good, and commanded, at least in their universal, by some particular law of God. As if a spiritual governor should in the name of Christ command or adjure a man (otherwise backward, and fearing the face of great men) to witness the truth for his poor neighbour's good: if obedience in this case were denied, both God's particular commandment should be immediately and directly transgressed, and that general law also be transgressed by consequence, which commands obedience to God's ministers or ambassadors. And it is all one, whether the matter enjoined be actually known for such as I have said, unto the party denying obedience; or might have been known upon due examination, and supposal of his former obedience to his pastor in other points. The further prosecution of these matters I leave unto the learned, that purposely write of jurisdiction: whereof by God's assistance, according to the talent which God hath given us, in the article of the catholic church. It may suffice for our present purpose, to have shewed, that it is not every doubt or scruple of the unlawfulness of superiors' commands, that can warrant denial of obedience to them; and that all inferiors are bound to a sober,

diligent, and unpartial examination of their own hearts and consciences; to a resolute denial or abandoning of their own affections or desires, that they may be more fit to discern the truth itself, and more sincerely weigh the consequence of their superiors' admonitions, before they can plead the liberty of conscience for rejecting them, or appealing from them.

8. Whether any such opposition as I have spoken of can probably be found between any express law of God and our church's public injunctions of such rites and ceremonies as many painful labourers in God's harvest have made scruple of, or whether such scruples have been first conceived upon probable discovery of such opposition, after such serious and due examination, I leave it to their consciences that have made or do make them; beseeching God for the good of his church, and his glory sake, to inspire many of their hearts but with this cogitation; whether were more likely, that they themselves should commit any act of infidelity or popery, by continuance in their pastoral charge, upon such terms as many of their religious and learned brethren do; or whether atheism and infidelity should increase abundantly throughout this land by their silence. Many of them I know have held the things enjoined not absolutely evil, but suspicions or occasions of evil. And could we in such cases usually take but half that pains, in seeking to prevent the particular evils which public acts (we fear) may occasion, as we do in censuring them for inconsiderate, or occasions of evil, or finally, as we do in breeding jealousies of their unlawfulness: the evils
213 which we fear would not fall out half so fast, as by this means they do; besides that, the unity of faith should always be faster kept, in the stricter bond of

love; and true obedience in things essentially good, and necessary for the preservation of God's church, would be more plentiful and cheerful.

9. But my purpose in this place was only to search out the limits of true obedience unto spiritual authority in general, so far as it concerns the rectifying of their faith, or edification in manners, who are to be governed and instructed by it. None of them can justly pretend (ordinarily) any scruple of such consequence as inferior ministers may. If they could but duly consider, and unpartially esteem the goodness which accompanies obedience, (*which is better than sacrifice,*) and the evil of disobedience, (*which is as the sin of witchcraft,*) these two laid together would be more than equivalent to any evil that laymen or inferiors usually conceive in such actions, as they deny obedience in unto their pastors. Nay, in this unbelieving age, wherein it is more to be complimental than religious, it is thought an answer good enough, so it be complimentally performed unto their pastors—We would do as you advise or enjoin us in Christ's name, if we certainly knew that it were Christ's will, or agreeable to God's word. Whereas in truth, in giving such answers, when neither they certainly know nor are careful to learn, whether their advice be contrary to God's word or no, they sin directly against Christian faith, advancing their own humours above God's word, which commands obedience unto pastors, preferring the liberty of their unruly wills before the safety of their consciences. And it is preposterous to plead ignorance of God's will before them, whose instructions therein they are bound duly to hear, and hearing to obey, until they can light on better, or find them false, upon serious and due examination; that is, they must obey them not absolutely and irrevocably, but with limita-

That the goodness of obedience, by our apostle's rule, (*Whatsoever is not of faith is sin,*) ought to move men unto such conditional assent and obedience unto their pastors as hath been mentioned.

tion and caution. And questionless if men did infallibly believe, or absolutely from their hearts obey, that which they undoubtedly know to be God's will, they would never make question, but that for which they have presumptions that it is part of God's will, or that which is commended unto them for his will, by such as he hath appointed to be messengers of the same, should be conditionally believed, and without caution obeyed, especially when it is delivered solemnly upon deliberation and premeditation, or out of that place whence he hath appointed them to learn his will. Did not priests (as the proverb is) forget that ever they were clerks, or such as take themselves for great proficients, that they were sometimes novices in the school of Christ, they might remember how they came unto that absolute and infallible belief of those Christian principles, by which they hope for salvation, by entertaining this conditional belief which we speak of, and by yielding like obedience unto Divine truths, now fully, but at the first imperfectly, known for such. And albeit such general articles of Christian faith, as are necessary for all to believe, neither increase nor diminish their number; yet if we descend unto the diversity of men's estates and callings, and difference of time and place, Christian faith receiveth perpetual increase, not only in its proper strength, or as we say, by way of intention, but in
214 extent also unto many particulars, either directly contained (though not so easy to be discerned) as essential parts under the former general principles, or else annexed unto them collaterally as limbs or borders. Besides, all Christian duties, or matters of practice, are not promiscuously fit for every time or place, but must be severally proportioned to their diversity. Again, the same duties (I mean of the same kind) must be

performed in different measure, according to the different exigence of time, place, persons, or other occurrents. In all these and many more respects, is this conditional assent and obedience unto pastors most necessary. And ere men can retain steadfastly that which is best, they must make trial of all, or many things of different kinds: and yet trial of spiritual medicines without spiritual physicians' prescripts, is so much more dangerous to ordinary men's souls, than like trial of physic-conclusions is to their bodies, by how much such men are more ignorant of the state of their souls than of their bodies. The necessity and use of what hath been delivered concerning obedience in general, will appear in sundry points to be discussed hereafter. In respect of which (especially of that point concerning the manner, how we may know the sense of scriptures, and that concerning the nature of Christian faith) some further unfolding of this conditional assent and obedience will be likewise necessary.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Nature, Use, Conditions, or Properties of conditional Assent or Obedience.

1. THE first step in the way to life, is from this infallible ground of nature—Whatsoever God hath revealed concerning matters of man's salvation, is most true, and by all means to be obeyed. This principle all men absolutely capable of reason, acknowledging a God, do believe; and from their absolute belief hereof, they yield a conditional obedience and reverence unto those books which we call *scripture*. From the trial of whose truth, we rise a step or degree higher, and undoubtedly acknowledge certain general principles contained in scripture (without whose belief no man ordinarily can be saved) for the oracles of God, or Divine re-

velations; and unto them we yield absolute obedience. This second step brings men within the lists or borders of Christianity, where no Christian man is to set up his rest. Even the meanest that bears that name, once come to years of discretion, or capable of instruction, must hold on his progress still, thus resolving with himself: "Though I must be as a child for innocence, yet not in knowledge of God's will. A shame it were I should always be a babe in that profession, which of all is only necessary; a shame I should accustom myself to milk, for this were to nourish unexpert babishness in the word of righteousness. A Christian I was from my cradle, and now as old a Christian as a man: but *strong meat is fit for them that are of age, which have* (or should have) *their wits exercised through long custom, to discern good from evil*[y]; not the fundamental principles of Christian religion only,
215 without which none can be saved[z], not he that hath professed Christianity but an hour. These are grounds, which once surely laid, must (as the apostle speaketh) be *left*[a], *that we may be led on to perfection*, not always hammering upon *the foundation of repentance from dead works, of faith towards God, or of baptism, of laying on of hands, of the resurrection from the dead, and of eternal judgment*, but seeking to build upon these whatsoever is befitting present times or seasons, whatsoever may make our election sure. And they who laid the former foundations in my heart, seek yet my further edification in many points, of whose truth my conscience as yet hath no such firm persuasion or lively taste as it now hath of the former: but is so affected towards these latter, as it was to the

y Heb. v. 14.

z Phil. iii. 10, 14, 15. *Let therefore as many as be perfect* (or would be) *be thus minded.*

a Heb. vi. 1, 2.

other before better acquaintance with them. Should I for this reason forthwith deny obedience to my instructors? or withdraw assent from matters proposed by them? God forbid: for he hath commanded all, not excepting me, to obey their overseers in the Lord. Must we obey them whilst they plant, and may we disobey them whilst they water? how then can I expect that God should give increase unto that faith which they have planted in my heart? heretofore I trusted them, and I found their sayings true, even the oracles of the living God: all which I so esteem, as I had rather adjure this present world, than utterly disclaim any, which upon like trial might prove such. What if I know not this particular to be such? I may in good time be as well persuaded of it as of the former; if so, I will vouchsafe to make like trial of it, by sincere religious obedience."

2. Nor doth the greater steadfastness, or infallibility of the point believed, necessarily exact either obedience of an higher nature, or more intention, or alacrity in the act, than may without offence be performed, unto some other points of doctrine less infallible, or less evident to their consciences, who must obey. Infallibility of itself exacts only a more full and absolute title over our obedience, than probabilities or presumptions can expect. For that which is infallibly and absolutely believed for a Divine truth, exacts such obedience (both for quality and degree) as is conformable to the nature of the thing proposed, without all limitation condition, or reservation; that is, perpetual and absolute allegiance. That which is but probably or conditionally assented unto as Divine truth, (whatsoever the nature of the thing proposed, the end and consequence pretended, or exigences of other circumstances be,) can exact only conditional or cautionary obedience: yet obe-

dience, for the quality, suitable to the nature of the thing proposed, and for the alacrity, or intention of the act, proportionable to the end or consequence pretended, and avouched by God's ambassadors. So that if they commend it unto us, as fit to be entertained in some higher rank of goodness, or as most necessary for the present time, albeit we ourselves do not apprehend the same as expressly commanded by God; yet may we perform obedience, both as sincere for the quality, and entire for degree, as we do unto some other things, which we steadfastly believe to be commanded in God's word. But we must not tender our obedience under the same style or title. Absolute obedience, of what kind soever, we may not yield unto it, until it be absolutely known for God's will. When it is once known for such, we must absolutely yield up
216 the same obedience, which before was but conditionally yielded: as a man may pay the same sum upon caution, before he be throughly persuaded of the demander's right unto it; which after his right be fully known, he pays absolutely. In this case, these four things must be considered.

Four points to be considered for the rectifying or right framing of our assent unto truths proposed.

3. First, the assurance or probability which we can have, that the thing proposed is God's word. Which sometimes may be grounded upon reasons, (either communicated unto us by our pastor or others, or conceived by ourselves,) as well as upon authority: sometimes all the assurance, which men of less capacity can have, is only from the pastor's authority. Secondly, the title, or pretended nature of the truth proposed. Thirdly, the act or quality of obedience. Fourthly, the manner or limitation of our obedience.

4. The act or quality of our obedience (so we be more probably persuaded that it is God's word, than otherwise, or know nothing to the contrary) must be pro-

portioned to the title or nature of the thing proposed, which is commended unto us as a spiritual good. So that our obedience must be religious and spiritual, not merely civil: although our best motive, why we hold it to be a Divine oracle, or spiritual good, be the authority of our teacher, which is but human; but now he exacts not obedience to his own authority, but unto God's word, (as he affirms:) which because we know is Divine, therefore we must yield religious obedience to it; and therefore religious, albeit conditional obedience unto this precept, which we probably know to be Divine, and assent unto conditionally as such. The act of our obedience in this particular must proceed from the same habit, from which our acts of obedience unto such truths as we infallibly believe for Divine do: for even this very act is performed primarily and absolutely to God's word in general, unto which we owe religious and spiritual obedience: and unto this particular (enjoined by our pastor) only secondarily, and upon supposition that it is part of God's word. So as if the particular by him enjoined should in the event prove no part of God's word; yet obeying it only upon the former motives, it might be truly said we had obeyed God's word, not it; as he that shews kindness to a stranger, upon presumption that he is a brother or alliance of his dear and familiar friend, albeit he were mistaken herein, may be said to have done a friendly office, rather to his known acquaintance, for whose sake he used the stranger kindly, than unto the stranger himself thus kindly used upon a mistake. But albeit the quality be such as God's word absolutely known requires; yet the manner of our obedience must be limited by the degrees of probability, or moral certainty, which we have of this particular, that it is God's oracle. Where the probabilities are

less, and the inducements for belief of this particular weaker, there the condition of our assent, and reservation of our obedience, must be more express: that is, we must stand further off from yielding absolute, and be more inclined to renounce this present conditional obedience (which we yet perform) upon lesser motives to the contrary, than we would if our probabilities for believing it were greater. Where the probabilities,
217 or inducements for belief of this particular are greater and stronger, there we must the more incline unto absolute and irrevocable obedience or assent unto the same particular: and be more unready, or unwilling to recall our assent, or renounce our obedience, but upon greater and more evident reasons. Only there we are to fix our belief absolutely; only there we may safely, undoubtedly, and fully pass over our full and absolute obedience unto it, without all condition, limitation of time, or reservation: when the truth of it shall be as fully confirmed, and manifested to our consciences, as the others are, unto which we have formerly yielded absolute obedience, without appeal or reservation: or when we can as clearly discern, and as steadfastly believe, the consonancy of this particular with the former's, as we can the former's with God's word.

5. And whereas we said before, that the only motives which some men have to believe the sense and meaning of sundry doctrines, (necessary perhaps unto them in particular at some seasons, when God shall call them to some extraordinary point of obedience,) might be the authority of their teachers: this authority may be greater or less, according to the quality of the minister or spiritual governor. As the world goes nowadays, this function is committed to some, in whose mouth the word of God, or any good

doctrine, may rather seem to lose its virtue and power, than his any way bind men to obedience, unless besides his commendation of what he proposeth, they have other motives to persuade them that it is God's word, or wholesome doctrine. If the minister, who should carry God's message, be such a one as sir Thomas More jested upon, "that he would not for any good hear him say the Creed, lest he should take it for a lie coming out of his mouth:" it is doubtful what the people should do in such a case, albeit he exact obedience upon their vow in baptism, if they have no other motive but his authority. Yet for all this, it is not best to be too bold in contemning his admonitions or adjurations, unless they be apparently false. In this case, others more sincere and skilful, or such as have authority to examine his doctrine, should be consulted, his may not be neglected in all particulars, upon a general prejudice of his lewdness or simplicity. For though his life be bad, yet may his meditations for that present, wherein he publicly speaks, be good and fruitful unto them, so they will yield due obedience to his doctrine. And although a man should know a constable, or some greater officer, that pretends commission from the king, to be a notorious lying knave or treacherous companion; yet were it not the safest way to tell him he lied, when he charged him to obey him in the king's name, nor to make a scoff of his authority, or reply he would not believe he had any, because he might abuse himself and it at other times: if so he do at this time, he may answer it before his betters hereafter: but in the meanwhile, it were best for the party commanded to obey him, until he be certain that he did either feign authority, where he had none, or else abuse it in this particular. He that should yield obedience, being thus (perhaps wrong-

fully) charged in the king's name, (so he yield it for this reason, and upon this condition,) shall not be thought guilty of disloyalty, albeit he be hereby
218 brought to commit some fact, distasteful to his majesty, or public peace. For the fault in this case must be returned upon the author: if so the party obeying did not know it to be simply unlawful, and against the king's peace, or had no opportunity of consulting other public officers, but hath been abused, by the craft and cunning of the other, who hath concealed his end, intention, or other circumstance which made the fact unlawful. It is enough to disclaim his former obedience when he knows the truth. And if officers should not be obeyed in the king's name, until men sought the truth, whether they had a lawful commission, or but a counterfeit, or whether they did not go beyond their commission, the king's majesty should want a great deal of necessary service, and the commonweal be at an ill pass for continuance of public peace. Did most men fear God, as much as men; or the Son of man, the Judge of quick and dead, as much as earthly judges; they would not so often withdraw their neck from the yoke of Christian obedience, (being charged to undertake it in Christ's name, and as they would answer it at that dreadful day,) upon such silly exceptions against the meanness, baseness, or lewdness of the minister's person. Be he as they list to make him for his life, it hath pleased God to make him his messenger, his officer to demand obedience of them. And shall it serve their turn to say, We will not believe that God sent him with this message, or sure he goes beyond his commission; when they know nothing to the contrary, but only will take occasion from his person to discredit his doctrine, if it control them in the pursuit of worldly affairs? And God knows for whose

sake it is; we all may fear it is especially for the infidelity and disloyalty of this people towards him, and their disobedience to his messengers, that he sends them such idle, foolish, or lewd pastors, as they have in many places. Because the laity of this land are so prone and headstrong to cast off Christ's yoke, and to deny due obedience to his faithful ministers; he therefore sets such watchmen over them in many places, as they shall have no lust to obey in any thing that they shall propose unto them, but harden their hearts in infidelity and disobedience. Albeit I should prosecute this point a great deal further, I should not much digress from my main purpose and drift, which God he knows is no other, but to bring home silly souls from yielding this blind obedience to the Roman foreign yoke. For the diverting of which from this land's and people's necks I know no better means, than to take up Christ's yoke upon us. For questionless, this open malapert scoffing disobedience to all ecclesiastic power now openly professed by the meanest, and countenanced by many great ones of the laity, is the sin, which to all that know God's judgments, or have been observant to look into the days of our visitation, cries loudest in the Almighty's ears, (more loud by much than friars, monks, and Jesuits' prayers do,) for God's vengeance upon this land: for vengeance to be executed by no other than our sworn, inveterate, malicious enemies; by no other grievances, than by the doubled grievances of the long enraged Romanists' iron yoke, which is now prepared for us ten times more heavy and irksome than was that which our forefathers have borne. It were hard to determine, whether atheism and infidelity amongst professed protestants, or superstition and idolatry amongst the papists, have more increased thoughout this land in later 219

years; or whether the Romish priests and Jesuits have been more industrious and earnest to sow the seeds of the one, than sundry which oppose themselves most eagerly against them have been to foster and cherish the other: both perhaps (unto their seeming) for a good intent; neither intending either mischief expressly and directly; for so the reluctation of conscience would have abated their endeavours: nor could idolatry or infidelity have grown so fast, had their foster-fathers seen them in their proper shape. But both have masked in sheep's clothing, both had their faces covered with zeal.

6. Sure, if there be degrees of malignancy in hellish ghosts, the most potent factions of most malignant spirits throughout the infernal anarchy, (the one upon emulation of the other's might or abilities in doing evil,) strive for glory by doing greatest mischief in this land. The one part hath made choice of their fairest means, by soliciting, partly desperate discontents, partly silly souls, (under pretence of ancient catholic religion,) to superstition and idolatry; the other, by driving proud and disobedient minds, upon their deadly dislike of popish tyranny, to cast off the yoke of Christian obedience, and under pretence of Christian liberty, to rush headlong into hypocrisy, atheism, or infidelity. For even where the best and most industrious ministers are throughout this land, how scarce is this Christian obedience to be found! Let the pastor's skill and sincerity be never so great, let him tell his flock, for whose souls he must answer, that they must do thus and thus, if they will be saved; they can be diligent perhaps to hear him, and say he spake exceeding well; i. e. very ill of others, (as they conjecture,) but not of them or their adherents. If for his good lessons in the pulpit he have good words returned at table, he

seeth the best fruits of his labour. For if one of his flock shall have an advantage against his neighbour, or have picked a quarrel with his lease; or let a gentleman be disposed to put off his tenants, or enhance their rents to their utter undoing; let any, gentle or mean, have but good hope to make his own great gain by some other's loss; here if we try him, and charge him upon his allegiance unto Christ to remit his hold, to let go all advantage, and be good unto his fellow-servant, or poor brother, these are matters the minister must meddle no more with than another man; the law can determine whether he do right or wrong, and this case belongs properly unto the lawyer. As if the power of God's Spirit, or authority of his ministers, did consist only in words, and required no other obedience, than a formal speculative assent unto their general doctrine, not a full resignation of men's wills, or hearty submission of affections, unto such rules as they shall prescribe, for the preservation of a good and upright conscience in particular actions, or intercourse of human affairs. Or if one of a thousand will be so good as to grant that he is to obey the precepts of Christ before the customs of our common law, or other civil courts, yet even the best of such, when it comes to points of private commodity, will dispense with his pastor, and reply; "I would do as you admonish me, if I saw any express command for it in God's word, or any evident necessity that should bind me to re- 220
nounce that right which law doth give me: but for ought I can perceive, I may prosecute my right in this present case with a safe conscience, and you do not know all particular circumstances which belong unto this matter; if you did, or were in my case, I am persuaded you would be of my mind." This, although it be the only shelter, under which the infidelity of later

ages takes its rest, the only dormitory wherein hypocrisy sleeps profoundly, and never dreams of further danger; yet is it a most silly excuse and shameless apology, in the judgment of any that knows, or knowing rightly esteems, the principles of Christianity. For suppose thou see no evidence that Christ hath commanded thee to confess his name in this particular, doth the law lay any necessity upon thee, to make thee prosecute thy supposed right? If it did charge thee upon pain of death so to do, thou hadst some pretence to obey it; albeit thou shouldst fear him more that could condemn thee, and the interpreters of it, to everlasting death: but the law doth leave it to thy choice, whether thou wilt use the benefit of it or no: and thy pastor, upon penalty of incurring Christ's displeasure, commands thee that thou use it not. Thou repliest, Thou seest no evidence that Christ commands thee. But dost thou absolutely and infallibly know that he doth not call thee at this time, to try thy obedience in this particular? If thou canst, out of sincerity of heart and evidence of truth, fully inform thy conscience in this negative, (so the end of thy proceedings be good,) thou mayest be the bolder to disclaim thy pastor's summons. If thou canst not, how wilt thou answer thy Judge, when thou shalt appear before him, why thou, out of the stubbornness of thy heart, didst more respect thy private gain than his heaviest displeasure? For suppose thy hope of gain were great, (as it is usually to such as thou art, more great than certain,) yet cannot the greatness and certainty of it countervail the least danger of incurring his wrath, nor could the certainty of worldly gain counterpoise, much less oversway, the least surmise or probability of incurring thy soul's destruction, unless thy mind had been set more on gold than upon thy God; more inclined to

private commodity and self-love, than unto Christ thy Redeemer. Or shall thy answer stand for good in his sight, when thou shalt say unto his messenger, It is more than I know, that Christ commands me? Then should the damned be justified at the day of judgment, when they shall truly reply, they knew not that ever Christ did supplicate unto them *sub forma pauperis.* Most of them, we may safely swear, had less probabilities to believe this in their lifetime, than thou hast now to persuade thee of this particular: although thy pastor's authority and frequent admonitions were set aside; which make thee so much the more inexcusable. For thou mightest have known by him that God had commanded thee as much, unless thy bad desires had made thee blind. But neither shall theirs or thy ignorance herein help. For ignorance which is bred of bad desires, corrupt affections, or greedy appetites, brings forth hardness of heart and infidelity: *so that seeing, thou shalt not see; and hearing, thou shalt not hear, nor understand* the warnings for thy peace, because thou hast formerly shut thine ears at thy pastor's admonition, or raged at his just reproof. And 221
the law of God binds thy soul, upon greater penalty, and better hopes, than all laws in the world besides could bind thy body, even upon hope of everlasting life, and penalty of everlasting death, to lay aside all self-love, all worldly desire, for the finding out of the true sense and meaning of it, as well as to obey it, when thou knowest it. And when any point of doctrine or practice, either in general or particular, is commended to thee by thy pastor, God's word doth bind thee to search, with all sobriety and modesty, the truth and force of all motives, inducements, or probabilities which he shall suggest unto thee; all private respect laid aside, lest thou become a partial judge of

evil thoughts: and if thou canst not find better resolution, it binds thee to rely upon his authority. And even in this again, God's word (so perfect a rule is it) doth rule thy thoughts, to discern the fidelity, sincerity, or authority of thy teacher.

Unto such as approve themselves, as St. Paul did *to every man's conscience in the sight of God*[e], or to such *as make not a merchandise of the word of God, but speak in Christ as of sincerity, and as of God in the sight of God*[f], Christian people are bound to yield greater obedience. Generally, unto such as, in their lives, express those characters of faithful dispensers, set down by St. Paul, and other penmen of God's word, every auditor is bound to yield greater obedience than unto others, in points wherein he hath no other motives to believe, beside his pastor's authority. For this is a dictate of common reason, and cannot but command the assent of every sanctified mind; that such men are most likely to have the meaning of God's Spirit, which walk according to God's Spirit, and seek not their own gain, glory, or pleasure, but Christ's glory, his will and people's good: and such again are most likely to use greatest sincerity in delivering the truth, which they know, without partiality or respect of persons. Again, men are bound (*cæteris paribus*) to believe them best, and obey them most, of whose skill and sincerity in dispensing the mysteries of faith, they have had most comfortable and spiritual experience. For the article of God's providence binds us hereto, and wills us to reverence our fathers in Christ, either such as (by his word) first begot faith, or nourished it in us more than others.

Thus much concerning this point I have thought good to insert in this place, because the true and

[e] 2 Cor. iv. 2. [f] 2 Cor. ii. 17.

sincere practice of obedience, according to that measure of truth, or belief which men have, though but imperfect, is the excellentest means for attaining the clear sight of Divine truth, and that perfect measure of sanctifying belief which in this life can be looked for, as shall (God willing) afterwards appear.

CHAP. X. 222

Wherein this conditional Belief differeth from the Romans' implicit Faith. That the one is, the other not, subordinate to God's Word, or Rule of Faith.

1. As this opinion of conditional assent unto Divine truths, not absolutely known for such, holds the mean betwixt the two extremes, or contrary errors above mentioned, so is this conditional assent itself a mean, betwixt that absolute belief which all acknowledge to be necessary in some principal points of Christian faith, and that implicit belief, which the Romish church exacts in all points whatsoever. Our assent unto many articles of faith is actually and expressly absolute. The implicit belief of the Romanists is but potentially, or rather virtually, and implicitly absolute: this conditional belief hitherto mentioned, not so much as potentially, much less implicitly or virtually absolute. That properly is believed by an implicit faith, which is not actually and expressly assented unto in the particular; but yet is so essentially and immediately contained in some general article or point of faith absolutely or expressly believed, that this particular likewise is assented unto in gross, whilst we assent unto it, and may be as absolutely, as expressly, and distinctly assented unto, as the general, when it is once explicated and unfolded. In this sense we say, the conclusion is implicitly contained in the premises, the corollary in the

What implicit faith is.

theorem, or the immediate consequent in his necessary antecedent. For he that grants one of these absolutely, must upon the same terms grant the other, at the first proposal of it unto him. But this conditional or reservative belief may be of such points, as are not certainly and infallibly contained in any principle of faith, absolutely, expressly, actually, or infallibly acknowledged; much less so essentially and immediately contained in any, that a man cannot absolutely grant it but he must absolutely believe them. And albeit ofttimes they may be infallibly deduced from known undoubted principles of faith, yet is not the deduction so immediate, as can be made clear and evident to all capacities, at least not at the first sight, without any further increase of knowledge in spiritual matters. And before the deduction be made as evident and apprehended as infallible, as are the general articles whence they are deduced, the particulars deduced from them may not be so infallibly and absolutely believed as the generals are. The papists, besides their explicit belief of some few main points, demand an implicit belief of as many particulars as the church shall propose: so as whatsoever the church shall propose, with them once proposed, admits no conditional belief: all must be absolute, albeit the parties believing cannot discern any necessary or probable deduction of the particulars from general points absolutely and expressly believed. It is enough that they know them to be proposed by the church. For once believing, "Whatsoever the church saith is most infallible," (which is the main article of the Roman faith,) no man
223 can deny any particular proposed by it to be infallible, more than he can deny the conclusion for certain, after he hath granted the premises for such. Consequently

to these positions, they make the visible church the rule and mistress of men's faith [g], as they speak. For albeit a man at this present think otherwise of many points of greatest moment, than the church or pope doth, or though he think not at all of many things, which they in time may propose unto him; yet after they have proposed, either a contrary opinion to that which his conscience tells him is God's word, or a new and strange position, which he never thought of, he must without more ado believe both absolutely and expressly, and so finally retract, extend, enlarge, abridge, direct, and frame his faith, according to that rule and standard which they shall set him. Hence (God willing) shall appear the madness of some great scholars amongst them, who holding the church to be such a rule of faith, would persuade us (if we would be so simple) that their last resolution of faith is, not into the church's authority, but into the scripture. For nothing can be resolved beyond its rule, and to make the church's authority such an absolute, authentic, unquestionable rule of faith, as the papists do, and withal to seek the resolution of any point of faith further than it, or to derive it from scripture, doth argue such a medley of folly and impiety, as if some gullish gentleman, desirous to prove the antiquity of his house, should draw his pedigree from Adam's great grandfather, and yet hold the records of Moses for most undoubted and true, which affirm Adam to have been the first progenitor of all mankind. Whether they seek to resolve their faith into the scriptures acknowledged by us and them, or into other unwritten revelations, pretended for Divine truths, their folly will still appear the same, so long as they hold that impious and blasphemous opinion, making the church's authority such a rule of faith,

That the faith of modern papists cannot be resolved into the scriptures or the first truth.

[g] A speech well beseeming the servants of the great whore.

as hath been said. Their injuries and contumelies unto God's written oracles (as hath heretofore been intimated) are especially two. First, they deny them to be any entire rule, for the number of precepts. Secondly, they make those very precepts, which are acknowledged for Divine, insufficient for the establishment of true faith unto themselves, without the church's authority. We acknowledge them every way sufficient for the edification of Christ's church in faith and manners: and consequently both to our positions, and the truth, we teach, that all matters of faith must be finally resolved into these Divine written verities, which for this reason we acknowledge the only infallible rule of faith: the meaning of which assertion is here to be further explicated, that so the truth may be maintained against their objections.

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CHAP. XI.

In what Sense we hold the Scriptures to be the Rule of Faith.

1. WHEN we affirm that the scriptures are the only infallible rule in matters of faith and Christian obedience, we understand such a rule in those matters, as Aristotle's Organon may be said of logic: supposing it were sound, and free from all suspicion of error in every point, and contained in it all the general and undoubted principles, from which all true forms of argumentation must be deduced, and into which all must be finally resolved. To illustrate this truth by a known practice. Our younger students are bound to yield their absolute assent unto Aristotle's authority in matters of logic; but not unto any interpreter that shall pretend it, save only when he shall make evident unto them that this was Aristotle's meaning. And while they so only, and no otherwise yield their assent, they

yield it wholly and immediately unto Aristotle, not to the interpreter, although by his means they came to know Aristotle's meaning; which once known, without any further confirmation of other testimonies or authority, commands their obedience and assent. But ere they can fully assent unto this great master, or throughly perceive his meaning, they must conditionally assent unto their private tutors, or other expositors, and take his sense and meaning upon their trust and credit. In like manner (say we) in all matters, doctrines, or controversies of faith, and Christian obedience, we are bound to yield our assent, directly, absolutely, and finally unto the authority of scriptures only: not unto any doctor, expositor, or other whosoever he be, that shall pretend authority out of scripture over our faith, save only when he shall make it clear and evident unto us, that his opinion is the true meaning of the scripture. And thus yielding our absolute assent unto the truth explained by him, we yield it not to him, but unto the Author of truth, whose words we hold to be infallible in whose mouths soever; and once known to be his words, they need not the testimony or authority of him, that did bring us to the true knowledge of them. And before we be brought to see their truth with our own eyes, and feel it by our sense, (by the effects or experiments of it upon our own souls,) we are to limit our assent and obedience (as it is set down before) according to the probabilities, or unpartial inducements, which we have of the expositor's skill and sincerity in dispensing Divine mysteries. And these motives or inducements, which we have of his skill and sincerity, must be framed according to the rules or precepts of scripture, not according to our affections or humours: we may not think him most to be believed that is in highest place, or hath the greatest stroke

in other affairs. For as the faith of Christ, so must our persuasion of the faithful dispensers, or skilful seedsmen of faith, be had without respect of persons.

225 2. If we yield assent or obedience unto any expositor, or other, otherwise than upon these conditions and limitations, then, as we said before, whilst we yielded absolute obedience unto his doctrine that persuaded us to true belief, because we perceived that which he spake to be the word of God, we did not yield it unto him, but unto God's word, delivered and made known unto us by him; so here again by the same reason (only inverted) it will evidently follow, that if we believe any man's doctrines or decisions to be the word of God, because he speaks it, or because we hold his words to be infallible, we do not truly and properly believe the word of God, (suppose his doctrine were the word of God,) but his words and infallibility only. Hence again it follows, that if we yield the same absolute and undoubted assent unto his authority, which we would do unto God's word immediately known in itself and for itself; or rely upon his infallibility in expounding God's word, as fully as he doth upon the word, (which it is supposed he knows immediately in itself and for itself:) by doing thus we rob God of his honour, giving that unto man which is only due to him. For the infallibility of this teacher hath the same proportion to all that thus absolutely believe him, as the infallibility of the Godhead hath unto him; and his words the same proportion to all other men's faith that God's word hath unto his. God's word is the rule of his, and his words must be the rule of all other men's faith. Or, to speak more properly, God must be a God only to him, and he a God to all other men.

3. Here it will be demanded, how men, altogether

illiterate, can examine any doctrine by scriptures? If they cannot read them, how shall they examine any thing by them? not examining the points of faith by them, how can they be said to be the rule of their faith? In such a sense as Aristotle's works (supposing them only authentic, and all his opposites counterfeits or new-fangles) may be said to be the rule of blind men's logic; for albeit they cannot read his works, yet are they capable of his general and undoubted rules, seeing they have (as well as other men) a natural faculty of discerning truth from falsehood, and can distinguish betwixt rules derived from the pure fountain of truth in that kind; and precepts drawn from conjectural, erroneous, and corrupt surmises of shallow brains, if both be distinctly proposed unto them. And the rules of truth once fully apprehended and embraced, serve as a touchstone to discern all consequences and conclusions, which shall be suggested unto them by others: so as they will admit of nothing for sound and true logic, but what may be resolved into the former, or some other principles, which they can perspicuously and immediately discern to have been drawn from the fountain of truth, by the same natural faculty or ability by which they did discern the former: for the faculty will still be like affected with all principles of like nature, use, and perspicuity. In like sort must the first and general principles of faith be derived from scriptures, (the only pure fountain of supernatural truths,) unto all illiterate hearts, by the ministry of the learned. For hearts, though illiterate, once illuminated by God's Spirit, are as apt to discern spiritual principles, from falsehood or carnal conjectures, as the natural man is to discern natural truths from errors of the same kind. 226 And these general and fundamental principles of faith, engrafted in their hearts, serve as infallible rules for

In what sense the scriptures may be said the rule of men's faith altogether illiterate.

discerning the consonancy or dissonancy of such particulars as shall be suggested unto them; as shall (God willing) hereafter be declared: nor may they without injury to God's Spirit or inward grace, admit any other precepts into the same rank or society with these, but either upon evident and distinct deduction from them, or sure experiments of their like spiritual fruit and use, for the amendment of life, and procuring that peace of conscience, which no natural man can conceive, much less can it be caused by mere natural precepts. For we suppose (what afterwards will manifest itself) that all truths necessary for men to believe have a distinct relish from all falsehood, or other unnecessary or superfluous truths: and may be known by their fruit, so men will be careful to preserve the sincerity of their spiritual taste.

Qua scriptum.

4. God's written word then is the only pure fountain and rule of faith; yet not such immediately unto all as it is written, but the learned or spiritual instructors only, whose hearts and consciences must be ruled by it, as in all other spiritual duties, so especially (as they are instructors) in this, that they may not commend any truths, or principles of faith, unto the illiterate, but such as are expressly contained in God's written word, or (at least) are in substance the selfsame with these written truths. If the unlearned, through God's just judgment, absolutely admit of other principles, and equalize them with these; such shall lead them into error, and pervert their faith. If they doubt of any man's doctrine, whether it be truly spiritual, or consonant to the foundation of faith, they may appeal to scriptures, as they shall be expounded to them by others. Finally, they are tied to no visible company of men, whom they must, under pain of damnation, follow: but for their soul's health, they may try every

spiritual physician. If they will be humorous they may, but at their own peril, both for temporal punishment in this life, and for eternal in the life to come.

5. For conclusion: the scripture according to our doctrine, and the general consent of reformed churches, is the only infallible rule of faith, in both respects or conditions of a perfect rule. First, in that it contains all the principles of faith, and points of salvation: so that no visible church on earth may commend any doctrine to others, as a doctrine of faith, unless it be commended to them for such by the scriptures, by which every one's doctrine, that acknowledgeth God for his Lord, must be examined, as by a law uncontrollable. Secondly, in that these principles of faith are plainly, perspicuously, and distinctly set down to the capacities of all that faithfully follow their practical rules most plain, most perspicuous, and easy, to all capable of any rule or reason: so that this sacred canon needs no associate, no addition of any authority as equally infallible, nor more perspicuous than itself, to supply what it wants; only the ministry of men skilful, and industrious in the search or exposition of it, is to be supposed. And all these (be they never so excellent and well conversant in them) are unto scriptures but as the ordinary expositors of classic and authentic books are unto the chief authors or inventors of the science con- 22
tained in them: supposing that the first authors were men of extraordinary and infallible skill, and their expositors (as they usually are) but of ordinary capacity or experience in those faculties.

6. Finally, the books of scriptures are to be reputed a more absolute rule for all matters of faith and Divine mysteries, than any books or writings of men are, for natural sciences or secular professions, as in sundry other respects so in this, that they give as more facile,

The prerogative of scriptures, in respect of faith, above all other rules, in respect of arts or sciences.

so more infallible directions, for finding out their true sense and meaning, than any other writings do, or writers could have done, who, though present, could not be so fully assistant, but cannot so much as afford their presence, to their expositors in the search of truths, rather professed than fully conceived, much less infallibly taught by them: whereas the Spirit of truth which first did dictate, is every where present, always assistant to such as seriously and sincerely seek the truth contained in these Divine oracles, conducting them from knowledge to knowledge, both by all such means as artists have for increasing their skill, and by other means extraordinary, such as none in any other faculty can have, nor any may hope for in the search of scriptures, but only such as delight in and meditate upon them day and night.

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SECT. II.

That the pretended Obscurity of Scriptures is no just Exception why they should not be acknowledged the absolute Rule of Faith; which is the Mother-objection of the Romanist.

CHAP. XII.

How far it may be granted the Scriptures are obscure; with some Premonitions for the right state of the Question.

1. IT is first to be supposed that these scriptures, for whose sovereignty over our souls we plead against the pretended authority of the Romish church, were given by God for the instruction of all succeeding ages, for all sorts of men in every age, for all degrees, or

divers measures of his other gifts in all several sorts or conditions of men. This diversity of ages and conditions of men in several callings, whoso well considers, may at the first sight easily discover our adversaries' willingness to wrangle in this point: whose usual practice, (as if they meant to cast a mist before the weak-sighted reader's eyes,) is to pick out here and there some places of scriptures more hard and difficult, than necessary or requisite to be understood of every man, perhaps of any man in this age. The knowledge of all, or any of which, notwithstanding, those that live after us, (though otherwise, peradventure, men of far meaner gifts than many in this present age,) shall not therefore need to give for lost or desperate, when they shall be called unto this search. For God hath appointed, as for every thing else, so for the revelation of his word, certain and peculiar times and seasons. Daniel, though full of the spirit of prophecy, and one that during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, and Balthasar his son, had (as it were) continually travailed of revelations concerning the estate of God's church, and the affairs of foreign kingdoms for many generations to come: yet knew not the approaching time of his people's deliverance from captivity, until the first year of Darius, son of Ahashuerosh. And this he learned by books. [a] *Even in the first year of his reign, I Daniel understood by books the number of the years, whereof the Lord had spoken unto Jeremiah the prophet, that he would accomplish seventy years in the desolation of Jerusalem.* And of his own revelation he saith, [b] *And Daniel was commanded to shut up his words, and seal up his book unto the end of the time,* or, as some read, *unto the appointed time: and then many shall run to and fro, and knowledge*

[a] Dan. ix. 2. [b] Dan. xii. 4.

shall be increased. For at the time appointed, as he intimates in the words following, others, though no prophets, were to know more of this prophecy than the prophet did himself. *Then I heard it, but I understood it not: then said I, O my Lord, what shall be*
229 *the end of these things? And he said, Go thy way, Daniel: for the words are closed up and sealed till the end of the time.*

2. The prophets of later ages did see revelations of matters, which had been hid from the ancient seers. And as it fared with them in the succession of visions, immediately inspired from God, not framed in imitation of any precedent written word, but to be then first written for posterity's instruction: some saw one vision, some another, always such were seen by the present prophet as most concerned the present times. So fares it still with the ministers of God's church, and Christian people throughout all succeeding ages, wherein visions have failed, and only the written stories of former visions are reserved for perpetual direction: some part of God's will contained in scripture is revealed in one age, some in another; always that which is most necessary for the present time is most easy to be understood by the faithful then living, so they seek the meaning of it as they should, not upon curiosity of knowing mysteries for the rarity of that skill, but for the edifying of Christ's church, which is sometimes out of reparations in one point, sometimes in another: for which cause God suffereth the knowledge of sundry places to grow and increase, according to the necessity of the present times, nourishing (as it were) a continual spring, for repairing or beautifying of his temple.

All scriptures not alike perspicuous to all ages.*

3. For this reason, those places which seem most plain and easy unto us, might be more hard and diffi-

cult to such in former times, as should have sought their meaning too curiously; yea, it might have been curiosity in that age to have sought half so much knowledge in them as we now see at the first sight, because the time of their revelation now is, was not then come.

Later ages more to be believed in the exposition of the Apocalypse than former.

4. It is but a silly shift for our adversaries to say, that some of the ancient Fathers did otherwise interpret the Apocalypse, than our men do: the perfect interpretation and knowledge of which book, more peculiarly concerns this latter, than that flourishing age of ancient Fathers, most of all these days wherein we live, in which the true and perfect meaning of it were most likely to be revealed, as (God be praised) in good measure it hath been, and daily shall be more and more, unless the daily increase of our sins deserve the contrary. Many godly men, yea, disciples in our Saviour's time, were ignorant of sundry mysteries, which since his glorification have been communicated to the meanest of his flock by the Holy Spirit, who never fails to reveal God's will, either by extraordinary or ordinary means, so men be not negligent to inquire after it by lawful means. For God is as far from partial respect of ages as of persons; so the persons of several ages respect his word alike, and as they should.

All scriptures not alike perspicuous, because not alike necessary to all nations in the same age.

5. The like observation we may take from the diversity of place or nations. As the knowledge of Jeremy's prophecies did more concern the state of Judah under Jehoiakim and Zedekiah, than the prophecy of Isaias or some more ancient prophet did; so in this our age, the knowledge of some one part of either their prophecies, and the manner of Judah his progress (in their times) to her overthrow, may more concern this our land, than the knowledge of some other parts of the same or other prophets. And yet those other

whose knowledge concerns us less, may at this instant concern some other land or people more. Always, the
230 gracious providence of our God directs the study and industry of all that love him, to the search of those points which most concern them; but suffers the endeavours of such, as by their transgressions have procured his wrath, to run at random, never seeking after those things which belong unto their peace, until his judgments overtake them.

6. These collections are no paradoxes, but truths, probable enough of themselves to win the assent of sober and unpartial minds, so capable of external fortification, as they may easily be made evident and strong enough to convince the froward minds of such as delight most in contradiction. From their truth supposed (which we are ready to make good against all gainsayers) it necessarily follows, that this question about the scripture's obscurity or perspicuity, cannot be universally meant of all and every part of scripture in respect of all persons and ages; as whether no part be obscure or difficult to all or any this day living. For from this diversity of ages, we may easily discern some things kept secret from the ancient patriarchs, by the wisdom of God made manifest unto us; and some things again, by the disposition of the Divine providence, become obscure and difficult unto us, which were more manifest unto them; as the particulars concerning the mystery of man's redemption were more obscure to them than us; although the mystery itself was in some sort revealed to them, in the prophetical and Mosaical writings. So likewise all the prophetical predictions or prelusions unto the time of grace, are better and more distinctly known of us than them; because the express knowledge of these particulars more concerns us that have lived since, than those that

The question concerning the obscurity or difficulty of scriptures, cannot be meant of all scriptures, in respect of all ages, or all men.

lived before the fulness of time. So the Israelites' Judaical constitutions, their types and ceremonies, were much more plain and easy unto them than us; because the knowledge of these matters, if we speak of their judicial law, more concerned theirs than any other state, as their types and ceremonies did their persons, unto whom the Messias was to be pourtrayed or shadowed out, more than any in this present or other precedent age, since he was manifested in our flesh and substance. The knowledge of the moral law, the end and scope thereof, (the observation of God's commandments, and doctrine of repentance after their transgression,) was equally perspicuous to both, because equally necessary, most necessary to both for their salvation.

Divers degrees of scripture's perspicuity, arising from the diversity of men's conditions or callings.

7. Again, from the diverse conditions of men living in the same age, this resolution is most evident and most certain. The same portion of scripture may be difficult unto some sort of men, and easy unto others, without any prejudice to their sufficiency for being the perfect and infallible rule of faith to all. For what we said before of diverse ages, we may conclude again of diverse sorts or conditions of men. Sundry places are more necessary and requisite to be understood of this or that sort, and other places of others: nor are all places necessary for the one to know, requisite for men of another condition or calling to search into. Thus the knowledge of many places is necessary for him that is a public reader, teacher, instructor, or general overseer of God's flock: which to search into, or laboriously to examine, would be curiosity in him that had no such calling, especially if engaged to any other, which might justly challenge the greatest portion in his best endeavours, or take up the most part of his choicer hours for study.

231 8. In this assertion we avouch no more than our adversaries must of necessity grant, and expressly do acknowledge in their supposed infallible rule: which they do not suppose should be alike plain and easy to all sorts or conditions of men, in all points. They would judge it damnable presumption for the most learned amongst their laity, to profess as great skill in the canons of their church, as their cardinals, bishops, abbots, or other principal members of it either have or make show of; a great presumption of heresy in any of their flock, to discuss the meaning of their decretals as accurately as their canonists, or sift other mysteries of their religion as narrowly as the casuists do. Should one of their greatest philosophers, that were no clergyman or professed divine, profess he knew the meaning of that canon in the Trent council, *Sacramenta conferunt gratiam ex opere operato*[c], as well as Soto, Valentian, or Vasques did, Suarez or other their greatest schoolmen in Spain or Italy now living do; it would breed as dangerous a quarrel in their inquisition, as if he had entered comparison with a rabbin in a Jewish synagogue for skill in expounding Moses' law.

9. That the scriptures therefore may be said a sufficient rule of faith and Christian carriage, to all sorts or conditions of men, it is sufficient that every Christian man, of what sort or condition soever, may have the general and necessary points of catholic faith, and such particulars as belong unto a Christian and religious carriage in his own vocation, perspicuously and plainly set down in them. And no doubt but it was God's will to have them in matters concerning one calling not so facile unto such as were of another profession: that every man might hence learn sobriety,

[c] Sessione 7. Canone 8.

and be occasioned to seek, if not only, yet principally, after the true sense and meaning of those scriptures, which either necessarily concern all, or must direct him in that Christian course of life whereunto his God hath called him. But shall this difficulty of some parts (which ariseth from the diversity of vocations) be thought any hinderance, why the whole canon of scripture should not be a perfect rule to all in their several vocations? Suppose some universal artist, or complete cyclopedian, should set out an absolute system or rule for all secular sciences: it would be a ridiculous exception to say, his works could be no perfect rule for young grammarians, rhetoricians, logicians, or moralists, because he had some difficult mathematical questions, or abstruse metaphysical discourses, which would require a grounded scholar's serious pains and long search to understand them throughly: and if he should admonish young students to begin first with those common and easy arts, and not to meddle with the other, until they had made good trial of their wit and industry in the former: this would be a good token of a perfect teacher, and one fit to rule our course in all those studies which he professeth. And yet the scriptures, (which the Jesuits would not have acknowledged for the rule of Christian life,) besides all the infallible rules of life and salvation, (common to all,) admonish every man to seek after the knowledge of such things as are most for edifying, or most befitting his particular calling.

Of the pretended difficulties in St. Paul's Epistles.

10. And even in St. Paul's Epistles, (which are the common places of our adversaries' invention in this argument,) after he comes to direct his speeches (as in the latter end of them usually he doth) unto masters of families, servants, or the like; or generally where he speaks of any Christian duty, (either private or 232

public,) his rules are as plain and easy to all men in this age, as they were to those householders or servants, or the like, unto whom they were first directed. So plain and easy they are unto all ages, and so familiar, especially to men of meaner place, that I much doubt whether the pope himself and all his cardinals were able in this present age to speak so plainly unto the capacity, or so familiarly to the experience of men of their quality unto whom he wrote. For, setting aside the absolute truth and infallibility of his doctrines, his manner of delivering them is so familiar, so lowly, so heartily humble, so natural, and so well befitting such men's disposition in their sober thoughts, as were impossible for the pope to attain unto or imitate, unless he would abjure his triple crown, and abstract himself from all court state or solecisms; unless he would for seven years addict himself unto familiarity with such men in a pastoral charge. It was an excellent admonition of one of their cardinals, (if I mistake not, and would to God our church would herein be admonished by him,) "to begin always with the latter end of St. Paul's Epistles." For once well experienced in them, we should easily attain unto the true sense and meaning of the former parts, which usually are doctrinal, and therefore more difficult than the latter. Yet the true reason of those difficulties in the former parts containing doctrine is, because he wrote them against the disputers of that age, especially the Jews. Even in this age they are only seen in matters that concern learned expositors of scriptures, not necessary for private and unlearned persons to know. And the especial reason, why his doctrine in some Epistles (as in the Epistle to the Romans) seems obscure, difficult, and intricate, is, because learned men of later times have too much followed the authorities

of men in former ages, who had examined St. Paul's doctrine, according to the rule or phrase of those arts or faculties with which they were best acquainted, or else had measured his controversy with the Jews, by the oppositions or contentions of the age wherein they lived. Were this partiality unto some famous men's authority (which indeed is made a chief rule in expounding scriptures, even by many such, as in words are most earnest to have scriptures the only rule of faith) once laid aside, and the rules of faith, elsewhere most perspicuously and plainly set down by St. Paul, unpartially scanned: his doctrine in that Epistle would be so perspicuous and easy unto the learned, as it might by them be made plain enough and unoffensive to the unlearned. For the light of truth, elsewhere delivered by this lamp of the Gentiles, (might it be admitted as a rule, against some expositions of that Epistle,) would direct men's steps to avoid those stumblingblocks which many have fallen upon. But to conclude this assertion; their difficulty (take them as they are) is no just exception against this part of scripture: because it remains difficult still, even for this reason, that it is held generally for difficult, and is not made a rule indeed for our directions; but other men's opinions or conjectures concerning it are taken for an authentic rubric, by whose level only we must aim at our apostle's meaning, from which we may not, without imputations of irregularity, swerve in the decision of points (to say no worse) as now they are made hard and knotty. 233

11. Thirdly, from the diversity of capacities or different measure of God's gifts, in men of the same profession, we may safely conclude, that the difficulty of the same portion of scriptures unto some, and facility and perspicuity unto others of like profession, cannot

Scripture more or less difficult to men of the same profession, from the different measure of

their natural capacities or God's gifts bestowed upon them.

justly impeach them of greater obscurity than befits the infallible rule as well of theirs as of all other men's faith, in their several vocations. For as men's callings are diverse, and God's gifts to men in their diverse callings in nature and quality different, so likewise is the measure of his like gifts to men in the same calling not one and the same. To some he gives more knowledge, to others less; yet all he commands, not to presume above that which is written, and every man to limit his desires of knowing that which is written, by the distinct measure of God's gifts in himself, not to affect or presume of such skill as they have, unto whom God hath given a greater talent. And besides this, that the scripture is the inexhaustible storehouse, whence all men have their several measures of Divine knowledge, as well he that hath most as he that hath least: even in this again it is a perfect rule, that it commands all *sapere, idque ad sobrietatem*, to be wise according to that measure of knowledge which God hath given them, and not to seek to know, at least not to say, Why should I not know as much as any other of any profession? for this were pride and arrogancy, (the fatal enemies of all true Christian knowledge,) if so his gifts be less than others'. And for the avoidance of these main obstacles of Christian knowledge, or true interpretation of scriptures, the scripture hath commanded *every man to think better of others than of himself, and not to be wise in his own conceit.*

All scriptures not alike perspicuous to all ministers of the gospel, or men of God.

12. From the former general will follow this particular: albeit some parts of scripture be very obscure unto some; the same perspicuous unto other ministers or preachers of the word: yet may the whole canon be the infallible rule of faith unto both, according to the diverse measure of their gifts, rightly and unpartially taken. If the one either fail in the exposition of sun-

dry places, which the other rightly expounds, or cannot apprehend so much in them as the other doth: he is in sobriety of spirit bound to acknowledge his own infirmity, and content himself with that knowledge, which is contained within the measure of God's gifts bestowed upon himself: and this again he is to take by the same rule. So that the scriptures are a perfect rule to both, to all; for direction in the search of Divine knowledge, for limitation of men's desires whiles they seek it, or conceit of what they have gotten. That they do not so thoroughly instruct or furnish some, as others, (though all men of God,) for exact performance of their ministerial function; can be no argument of their insufficiency, to make all such in their place and order competently wise unto salvation, more than it would be to prove Euclid's Elements (or other more absolute mathematical work) an insufficient and imperfect rule for instructing surveyors or other practical mathematicians, (whose skill lies only in measuring triangles, circles, or other plain or solid bodies,) 234 because containing many questions of higher nature and greater difficulty, (as of the circle's quadrature, of lines or numbers surd, or asymmetral,) well befitting the exercise of speculatory, learned mathematical wits.

CHAP. XIII.

The true state of the Question about the Scripture's Obscurity or Perspicuity: unto what Men, and for what Causes, they are obscure.

1. THE question then must be, Whether the scriptures be an absolute rule of Christian faith and manners to every man in his vocation and order, according to the measure of God's gifts bestowed upon him? We affirm, It is such to all. None are so cunning, none so excel-

lent or expert in Divine mysteries, but must take it for a rule, beyond whose bounds they may not pass, from which they daily may learn more; none so silly, but may thence learn enough for their salvation, so they will be ruled by it. And yet even of those points which are perspicuously set down to the diverse capacities of men in the same or several professions, the question is not, Whether any can fully comprehend their entire meaning? Certain it is, in this life they cannot. But neither will our adversaries, I hope, avouch, that the infallible authority of their church can make us so comprehend the full meaning of mysteries contained, either in scriptures, or her pretended unwritten traditions. Of scriptures the best learned Christian may say with the heathen Socrates, *Hoc unum scio, me nihil scire*, "I know this one thing, that I know nothing;" nothing as I should, or as fully as I then shall, when I shall know as I am known: for in this life, *we know but in part, and we prophesy in part*[c].

2. Lastly, even in respect of places (though containing points of salvation) only thus imperfectly known, (though as perspicuous and clear as can be required the rule of faith should be,) the question is not, whether they be very obscure and difficult unto some, or unto the major part of mankind: if we consider them as they are, or may be, not as they should or might be, that is, if we consider them as disobedient to the truth known, or careless to amend their lives by this light of scripture. For unto all such as hate it, this very light itself proves an occasion of falling. Nor could any thing be more plainly or perspicuously set down in any other rule of faith imaginable, than this very point

[c] 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

we now handle is in scriptures, to wit, that such parts of them as contain matters necessary to salvation, are most easy to some, most hard to others. And albeit they might, through the iniquity of mankind, prove difficult to all, or impossible to be understood of most now living, (living as for the most part we do,) yet were this difficulty or impossibility of understanding them aright, (upon these suppositions,) no hinderance at all, why they should not be a complete rule of faith, to all no just reason for admitting any infallible authority besides theirs.

3. For of such as admit any authority equivalent to theirs, it must be further demanded, Whether the infallibility of it can take away that blindness of heart, which by God's just judgments lights upon all such as detain the knowledge of God or his sacred word in unrighteousness? If, for their sins, God punish them with this spiritual darkness, in discerning his will revealed in his written word; no other infallible authority (as we suppose) can take away those scales from their eyes, which hinder their sight in the means of their salvation. If men have been called to this light, and prefer darkness before it; either they must receive sight and direction from it again, or continue still in ignorance and the shadow of death; but doth God lock up all or most men's eyes in such darkness? No; for this blindness (by our doctrine) befalls only such as have deserved it by the forementioned sins, which once removed by repentance, the rule of life shall enlighten them; unrepented of, no other rule or authority shall teach them the way to life.

235 This is a point to be observed, because the weakness and impertinencies of all our adversaries' arguments will best appear, if they be hereto reduced, as shall appear by the particulars in this and the next section.

4. Since we thus grant that the scriptures may be obscure to most men by their own default, but perspicuous to others free from like fault or demerit; it remains we further inquire whether the same scrip-

tures do not most plainly set down, first, the causes why they are so obscure to some and perspicuous to others; secondly, the remedy or means how their obscurity or difficulty may be prevented. If they plainly teach these two points, this is a sure argument that they are, if not, that they cannot be, so excellent a rule of faith as we acknowledge them. For this very point (that the scriptures, in respect of diverse persons, are obscure and perspicuous, though obscure to none but through their own default) is a principle of Christian faith, and therefore must be plainly set down in the absolute complete rule of faith. And (to omit others in their due place to be inserted) what can be more perspicuously taught, either by scriptures or other writings, than this truth, *God giveth grace to the humble, and resisteth the proud*[d]; or this, *He will confound the wisdom of the wise, or such as glory in their wisdom*[e]? These and like rules of God's justice in punishing the proud and disobedient, hold as true in the search of scripture, as in any other matter, yea especially herein. Thus were the Scribes and Pharisees (men of extraordinary skill in scriptures) blinded in the most necessary points of their salvation, though most plainly set down in scriptures. For what could be more plainly set down than many testimonies of their Messias? Many places of far greater difficulty they could with dexterity unfold: how chanced it then they are so blinded in the other? *They were scattered in the proud imagination of their hearts*, and glorious conceits of their prerogatives in being Moses' successors: and in their stead, simple and illiterate, but humble and meek spirited men, raised up to be infallible teachers of the Gentiles, to

[d] Prov. iii. 34. James iv. 6. 1 Pet. v. 5.

[e] Isaiah xxix. 14. 1 Cor. i. 19. and iii. 19.

unfold those mysteries of man's redemption, (which the Scribes and Pharisees could not see,) with evidence of truth to enlighten the silly and ignorant, and convince the consciences of their learned proud oppugners. By their ministry, prophetical and Mosaical mysteries became a light unto the Gentile, whose life had been in the shadow of death: whilst a veil was laid before the hearts of the most learned Jews, so that even whilst the Sun of Righteousness, which enlightens every man 236
that comes into the world, did arise in their coast, and ascend unto their zenith, they grope their way, as men that walk in dangerous paths by dark night.

5. Was the scripture therefore no rule of faith unto these Jews, to whom it was so difficult and obscure? Or is it not most evident that this blindness did therefore come upon Israel, because they hated this light, being carried away with loud cries of *Templum Domini, Templum Domini,* as the papists now are with The church, The church: and for words of supposed disgrace offered to it, (only upon a surmise that Christ had said, he would destroy and build it up again,) brought to seek the destruction of the glory of it, even of the Lord of glory. Thou that wouldst make others believe the pope is such, dost thou believe the scriptures to be infallible? How is it then, whilst thou readest God's judgments upon thy brother Jew, thou dost not tremble and quake, lest the Lord smite thee also (thou painted wall) with like blindness? seeing thou hast justified thy brother Pharisee's stubborn pride, wilful arrogancy, and witting blasphemy in oppugning scriptures. And as for all such whose hearts can be touched with the terror of God's judgments upon others, in fear and reverence I request them to consider well, whether one of the greatest Roman doctors were not taken with more than Jewish mad-

ness in mistaking scripture in itself most plain and easy, who to prove the scripture's obscurity to be such as in this respect it could not be the rule of faith, allegeth for his proof that place of the prophet[f]: *And the vision of them all is become unto you as the word of a book that is sealed up, which they deliver to one that can read, saying, Read this, I pray thee: then shall he say, I cannot; for it is sealed*[g].

6. The prophet relates it as a wonder, that they should not be able to discern the truth. What truth? an obscure or hidden truth, impossible to be understood? This had been a wonderful wonder indeed, that men should not be able to understand that, which was impossible to be understood. Wherein then was the true wonder seen? In this, that they, whose eyes had formerly been illuminated, by the evidence and clearness of the Divine truth, revealed by God's messenger, should not be able to discern the same, still alike clear and perspicuous; but now to be shut up from their eyes, as appeareth by the similitude of the sealed book, whose character was legible enough, but yet not able to be read whilst sealed? A man might as well prove the sun to be dark, because Polyphemus, after Ulysses had put out his eye, could not see it, as the scriptures by this place to be obscure. The prophet's words entire are these[h]: *Stay yourselves, and wonder; they are blind, and make you blind; they are drunken, but not with wine; they stagger, but not with drink. For the Lord hath covered you with the spirit of slumber, and hath shut up your eyes: the prophets*

[f] Disce ex uno omnes. Gather how mad Baal's other priests are in this argument from Valentian's Jewish phrensy, in urging scriptures [tom. 3. disp. 1. qu. 1. punct. 7. parag. 4.] against us which make most plainly for us.

[g] Isaiah xxix. 11.

[h] Isaiah xxix. 9, 10, &c ver. 13.

and your chief seers hath he covered. And the vision of them all is become unto you, &c. And more plainly: *Therefore the Lord said, Because this people come near me with their mouth, and honour me with their lips, but have removed their heart from me, and their fear toward me was taught by the precepts of men:* (doth he not mean the blind obedience of modern papists as well as ancient Jews?) *therefore, behold, I will do a marvellous work in this people, even a marvellous work and a wonder: for the wisdom of the wise men* 237 *shall perish, and the understanding of the prudent man shall be hid.* The Lord himself foretells it as a wonder, that this people should be so ignorant in the word of God; and yet will the Jesuit make us believe the word of God is so obscure that it cannot be unto us the rule of faith, when as without the knowledge and light of it (not which it hath in itself, but which it communicates to us) there is no vision, no knowledge in the visible church, but such wonderful darkness as the prophet here describes.

7. Let the reader here give sentence with me, whether it were not wonderful Jewish blindness, or wilful blasphemy in Valentian[i], so confidently to avouch, "that the veil which St. Paul saith is laid before the Jews' hearts, was woven (a great part) out

[i] Velamen quod ipse Paulus (2 Cor. iii. 15.) affirmat usque in hodiernum diem, cum legitur Moses, esse positum supra cor Judæorum: profecto textum (ut ita dicam) bona ex parte est ex difficultate scripturarum illarum. Valent. tom. 3. in Aquin. disp. 1. quæst. 1. punct. 7. parag. 4. He addeth immediately: Hoc enim (ut antea monuimus) est, scripturam esse difficilem, ejusmodi eam esse, et tam multa, ut illa intelligatur, requiri, ut proclive fuerit Judæis, et sit aliis omnibus, non percipere veram ejus sententiam: quod quia dare nobis coguntur, velint, nolint sectarii, recte ac necessario inde concludimus, communem illam regulam et magistram fidei, quam necesse est, esse propositam fidelibus omnibus, non esse scripturam; cum non sit cognitu facilis ipsis hominibus. Huc et illud Isaiæ 29 pertinet.

of the difficulty of scriptures," such scriptures as the sectaries (so he terms us) contend about: and for proof of this blasphemous assertion to bring the forecited place. Ere their allegations of this or like places, brought to prove the scripture's difficulty or obscurity, can be pertinent, they must (according to the state of the question already proposed) first prove this obscurity or difficulty to be perpetual and ordinary, not inflicted as a punishment upon hypocrites, or such as love darkness more than light. And this they never shall be able; this one place alleged by Valentian most evidently proves the contrary. For this was an extraordinary and miraculous judgment upon these Jews for their hypocrisy, as appears, verses the thirteenth and fourteenth. And unto such as they were, we acknowledge the scriptures, by the just judgment of God, to be most difficult still; but deny such difficulties to be any bar why they should not be the complete rule of faith. If the Jesuits will avouch the contrary, let them tell us whether any other rule could in this case supply their defect, be it unwritten tradition, or *viva vox infallibilis authoritatis*, "the infallible teaching or preaching of the visible church or pope." This, I presume, they will be ashamed to affirm. [k]For this prophecy

[k] So our Saviour expoundeth it, Matt. xv. ver. 7—9. *O hypocrites, Esaias prophesied well of you, saying, This people,* &c. using the words before-cited out of the 13th verse of Esay, cap. xxix. Out of both places it appears that their hypocrisy and disobedience to the truth known, caused this blindness: and what the prophet threatened, ver. 14, our Saviour ratifieth, Matt. xv. 12—14. For *when his disciples said unto him, Perceivest thou not that the Pharisees are offended in hearing this saying? he answered, Every plant, which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up. Let them alone: they be blind leaders of the blind. And if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch.* So the prophet had said in the 14th verse. *The wisdom of their wise men* (to wit, the Pharisees) *shall perish, and the understanding of the prudent shall be hid;* and in the 9th verse, *They are blind, and make you blind.* For this cause our

was fulfilled of the Pharisees which lived in our Saviour's time, and heard him preach the doctrine of salvation as plainly as the pope can do: yet neither could his doctrine nor miracles win them to his Father. Why could they not? Because they had, as the papists now have, (though not so openly,) disclaimed the scriptures for the rule of their faith, and did follow the precepts or traditions of men; and God (as we said before) hath so decreed, that such as neglect the truth known, or love darkness more than light, should be given over to this reprobate sense; that the more evident the truth is, the more hateful it should be to them: as the hate of these Scribes and Pharisees to our Saviour was greater than their fore-elders' had been to the prophets, because the light of his doctrine 238
was greater, his reprehensions more sharp, and their deeds and hypocrisy worse than their fathers'. No marvel then, if it be so hard a matter to recover a learned papist, or make a Jesuit recant his error in this point, seeing they are farther gone in this Jewish disease of contemning God's word, following traditions and precepts of men, for the rule of their faith, than these Jews themselves were; not likely therefore they would have yielded to our Saviour himself, if they had lived in his time. Nor should the ingenious reader think we hyperbolize or overlash, when we charge them with deeper blasphemy in this point than these Jews were guilty of: as if this were strange, seeing they are such great scholars, and profess that they love Christ as well as we: for so would these Jews boast of their antiquity and skill in scriptures, and thought

Saviour in the forementioned place calleth not them as he did the multitude, to *hear and understand,* verse 10. Nor expounds the parable unto them as he did to his disciples, verse 15.

that they loved God, and his servant Moses, as well as Christ and his apostles did. But it was God's purpose to confound the wisdom of the worldly-wise; of the Scribes and Pharisees then, and of the learned priests and Jesuits now.

CHAP. XIV.

How men must be qualified, ere they can understand Scriptures aright: that the Pope is not so qualified.

1. OUT of the forementioned places it is evident, that God's word (otherwise plain and perspicuous) was hidden from this people's eyes for their hypocrisy; and the same blindness continues still in their posterity for continuing in like sin. But can it be proved as evidently, by any other place of scripture, that unto such as do the will of God, and practise according to his precepts, the same word shall be plain and easy, so far as is necessary for their salvation? Yes, infinite places may be brought to this purpose. And lest any man should except against the extent of such bountiful promises, as if they included some condition of learning, great dexterity of wit, or the like, whereof many men are not capable; our Saviour Christ adds the universal note; *If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself*[1]. *If any man will do his will:*[1] not if any man will learn the learned tongues, or study the Scribes' and Pharisees' comments, which this people supposed to have been the only (as they were good) means for understanding scriptures aright, whilst subordinate to this principal condition here mentioned by our Saviour. The occasion of the multitude's admiring his doctrine, was, that he who had never been scholar to their rabbins should be so expert in scriptures (as it is, verse the fifteenth). Our Saviour's reply to this

[1] John vii. 17.

their doubt conceived by way of admiration (in the sixteenth verse) is, that he had his learning from God, and not from man: *My doctrine is not mine, but his that sent me.* And as he was taught by his Father to deliver and teach the heavenly doctrine, so might the simplest and most unlearned amongst them be likewise taught of God to discern whether the doctrine were of God, or whether he spake of himself: if they would do the will of God, and seek his glory, not 239
their own, as Christ did not seek his own glory, but his that sent him. Yet might these Jews have brought the same exceptions against our Saviour's rule for discerning doctrines, which the papists now bring against the scriptures, why they should not be the infallible rule of faith; as shall appear hereafter. In the meantime whom shall we believe, the modern Jesuit, who will swear one thing sitting, and the contrary standing; or Christ Jesus, whose word (as he himself) *remains, yesterday, to-day, the same for ever*[m]? Even at this day, (as well as at that time, when he spake this oracle,) *if any man will do the will of God* (which sent him,) *he*, amidst the variety of men's opinions concerning matters of faith, *shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God, or whether men speak of themselves*, without recourse unto the infallible authority of

[m] Our Saviour fully confirmeth this truth unto us, which the Psalmist had before in effect delivered, Psalm xxv. 14. *The secret of the Lord is revealed unto them that fear him; and his covenant to give them understanding*; and verse 9. *Them that be meek will he guide in judgment: and teach the humble his way.* Vide etiam verse 10 and 12. This evidently confuteth their folly, who think, or rather say, our Saviour spake in this place of his own peculiar doctrine and authority. Albeit Canus (amongst others) might be excused (by such as would salve his credit) by the common answer, Non locutus est ex sua sententia, as appeareth by the manner of his reply, lib. 2. de loc. Theol. cap. 8.

such as sit in Peter's chair; who are to Peter but as unto Moses the Scribes and Pharisees were, unto whom God's church in Jewry, about our Saviour's time, was not much beholden for doctrines of faith, or decisions of doubts, concerning the truth of scriptures, or principal mysteries taught by Moses.

2. Will you hear what Bellarmine (the only champion that ever Rome had, for eluding evident authorities of scripture) could answer unto this place? "[n] Our Lord and Saviour did not intend in this speech to shew us that all honest-minded men might understand every place of scripture by themselves: but to teach

[n] Non hoc dicit Dominus ut ostendat omnes viros bonos per se intelligere posse omnia loca scripturarum: sed ut doceat viros probos carere quibusdam impedimentis, propter quæ alii quidem nec per se, nec per alios, fidei veritatem intelligere possunt, ut Johan. v. 44. Luke xvi. 14. Bellarm. tom. 1. lib. 3. cap. 10. Canus in his first answer to this place seems willing to assent unto the truth: Concedimus, inquit, liberaliter doctrinam cuique in sua vita et statu necessariam, illi fore perspectam et cognitam, qui fecerit voluntatem Dei. Sicut enim gustus bene affectus differentias saporum facile discernit, sic animi optima affectio facit, ut homo doctrinam Dei ad salutem necessariam discernat, ab errore contrario qui ex Deo non est. Quæ vero ecclesiæ sunt communia, nec ad judicium, nec ad fidem spectant singulorum, ea non a quovis discerni et judicari possunt, quantumcunque is Dei faciat voluntatem. In his second answer he bewrays a willingness to dissent from us, or perhaps a fear not to say somewhat against us: and therefore, to such as will not be satisfied with the former, he gives a second answer, in effect the same with Bellarmine's. We may admit both their conclusions, without harm to our cause. From that which Canus granteth of private men, (both in his answer to the second and third argument,) we may conclude against him thus: As God giveth them the spirit of discerning true from false doctrine, in points necessary to salvation, without all respect of persons: so likewise will he, by his providence, direct the learned or spiritual overseers in every nation, (without respecting person, place, or other prerogative,) for discerning apocryphal from canonical books. Nor is there any more reason to appropriate their discretion to the pope or clergy of Rome, more than to appropriate the gift of discerning truth from falsehood in points necessary to salvation, to their servants. Vid. Can. lib. 2. de loc. Theol. cap. 8. responsione ad secundum et tertium.

us that good men are free from divers such impediments, as disenable others for understanding the true doctrine of faith, either by themselves, or by others' help. For some became uncapable of true faith by pride and desire of worldly honour, others by covetousness. All these things heard the Pharisees also which were covetous, and they mocked him."

3. That all honest-minded men should be able to understand all places of scriptures, we never affirmed; that without the ministry or help of others they should (ordinarily) understand any aright, we never taught. This notwithstanding we constantly avouch: without this condition of doing God's will, not men otherwise furnished with the best gifts of art and na- 240
ture can ever be competently qualified for spiritual instructors: by performing it, the simple and illiterate shall be made capable of good instructions, and enabled to discern true doctrine from false. By our Saviour's rule in the very next words, (more infallible than any other pretended infallibility can be,) we may discern the pope, of all others to be no true, much less any infallible teacher, unless of lies and antichristian deceit. For *he that seeketh his own glory*, (as what pope is there that doth not so? many seek the popedom by their predecessor's blood,) *he speaks of himself;* not the word of him, whose vicar he boasts himself to be.

4. To place the apostle St. Paul's authority next in file unto our Saviour's: [o] *Fashion not yourselves* (saith he unto his beloved Romans) *like unto this present*

[o] Rom. xii. 2. upon which place he whom Bellarmine commends as one of the most excellent interpreters of later years (next to Jansenius) saith thus: Per renovationem mentis quam jam per fidem in Christum accepistis transformemini in novos affectus, ut sic reddamini apti ad intelligendum, quid a vobis justificatis per totam vitam requirat Deus. Quid gratum sit bene-

world: but be ye changed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is the good will of God, and acceptable and perfect. Being fashioned like unto the present world, they were altogether disproportionable unto the kingdom of heaven, uncapable of heavenly mysteries; but being renewed in their minds, they might prove, taste, and relish aright the meaning of God's word revealed. Of such as disannul the scriptures for being the rule of faith, and transfer this canonical dignity upon the pope, I would gladly be resolved, whether this his holiness' infallibility can take away the veil which is laid before the Jews' hearts, or this desire which reigns in most men, of fashioning themselves unto this present world; whether he can in all such as profess Christianity, root out those lusts and concupiscences, those (*corneæ fibræ*) stiff and stubborn heart-strings, as are the very threads whereof this veil is made which makes the scriptures so difficult, and so eclipseth their light in respect of men. If he cannot, well may he make them understand or believe his own decrees; but never rightly apprehend or steadfastly embrace the spiritual mysteries of their salvation. That rule of St. Paul's is still most infallible: *the natural or carnal man is altogether uncapable of the things of God's Spirit;* of those things which are in themselves most evident; *neither can he know them.* If you will not believe his authority as infallible, he gives you a reason for the truth of the conclusion, *for they are spiritually dis-*

placitum et acceptum Deo. Simile quiddam docet Apost. Eph. 5. Probantes quid sit beneplacitum Deo. Nisi enim mactaverimus cupiditates carnis nostræ, non possumus esse idonei, ut in actionibus nostris intelligamus, quæ sit voluntas Dei: sed quod nostro sensui vehementer arridet, interpretamur id esse voluntatem Dei. Sasbout in hunc locum. Vide annotat. ex Beda ad paragraph. 5.

cerned. Is it then the pope's infallibility, or the framing of our lives according to God's holy word, that must purge the errors of our young and wanton days, and make us cease to be *homines ψύχικοι, natural or carnal men,* and become spiritual? If the pope's infallibility cannot perform this, to what use doth it serve? The scriptures will be difficult still, and their sense insipid to such as have not their hearts thus cleansed. If without his infallibility, (by the industry of faithful pastors, attentive hearing, and serious meditation of his sacred word,) our lives may be amended, and we of carnal men become spiritual; we shall discern the things of God, what is his will and mercy towards us in Christ; we shall know of every doctrine necessary unto our salvation, whether it be of God or no, much better than the pope and his cardinals can do, if they be carnals. For our apostle adds, *The spiritual man judgeth and discerneth all things, and is judged of none*[p]. The sense of which words some of your schoolmen much mistake, when they hence gather, that the pope may judge princes: but the spirituality (so in common talk we call the clergy) may not be judged by any temporal or lay power. Our apostle means, (nor will a learned interpreter, though a papist, deny it,) that in matters of faith, and in the truth of Divine mysteries, the truly spiritual (that is, such as are renewed in the inner man, not such as bear the name or title of spiritual men in their corrupt language) see and understand those things, which the 241

[p] Apostolus, 1 Cor. ii. 15, comparando temporalem facultatem ad spiritualem, ait, quod animalis homo non percipit ea quæ sunt Spiritus Dei, sed spiritualis dijudicat omnia, et ipse a nemine judicatur. Soto in 4 Sentent. dist. 25. q. 2. art. 1. conclus. 2. No marvel if Valentian grossly mistake this place, wherein this grave divine, as Bellarmine instyles him, is so sottish.

wisdom of God hath hidden from the wisest and most glorious teachers of the world, from all carnal men, of what gifts soever they may be in other matters; as appears by our apostle's discourse in that place. Which doctrine of our apostle, how truly it is verified in the wise men of Rome, the Jesuits I mean, (to give them, what by our proverb we are bound to give their master, their due,) men of famous industry and excellent reach, in all subtle and profound arts: but how ignorant and besotted in matters of faith and mysteries of man's salvation their doctrine in this present controversy, being compared with this axiom of our apostle, may abundantly witness, to the astonishment of all sober-minded Christian readers.

5. They cannot deny, that matters of faith and Christian life, the mysteries of man's salvation, are matters belonging to the Spirit of God; and that a lewd, naughty, ambitious, luxurious man, and heretic, is *homo ψύχικος, a carnal man,* they will not offer to call in question. Again, that many of their popes be such as I have said, (naughty, wicked, luxurious men,) they openly confess. Some of them grant that [q]Honorius was an heretic. [r]Valentian will not dispute

[q] Denique quod Honorius et nonnulli alii pontifices in errorem lapsi fuisse dicuntur (quanquam de nullo prorsus satis compertum est, pertinaciter erravisse) id quidem utcunque res habeat, non nisi ad privatum attinet personarum vitium: atque adeo nihil nobis obstare potest, ut qui non tam ipsas personas, quam authoritatem illam apostolicæ sedis in definiendo defendimus, sicut supra, Augustini etiam exemplo, respondebamus, Valent. tom. 3. disp. 1. quæst. 1. punct. 7. paragr. 41. cas. 11.

[r] Valentianus loco citato. Ad fidelitatem Dei erga ecclesiam spectat, ut impediret in eo casu, quo minus per pontificem illum controversia falso definiretur. Id quod facere Deus possit aut pontificem de medio tollendo, ne ipse, sed successor potius rem decerneret; aut interna mentis illustratione, vel alio aliquo modo pontificem ab errore revocando. Neque vero hujusmodi providentia Dei in similibus casibus miraculosa esset censenda, sed esset potius quidam effectus ejus legis ordinariæ, qua Deus per

this particular *de facto*, whether he were one or no, but that the pope or popes may hold heretical opinions he granteth: albeit thus tainted with heresy, they cannot propose their heresies *ex cathedra*, to be believed by others; (believe Valentian herein who list;) for God by his providence would prevent this mischief. But howsoever, the pope and his cardinals may (by their own confession) be carnal men with a witness[s]. Now St. Paul saith plainly, "Homo animalis non potest cognoscere ea quæ sunt Spiritus Dei;" *No carnal or natural man can conceive the things of the Spirit of God*[t], 1 Cor. ii. 14. (for this indefinite proposition *in materia necessaria* may have this universal note, "Homo animalis non potest cognoscere;" *No carnal man can perceive.*) The Jesuits affirm the contradictory unto St. Paul's doctrine, as an undoubted article of faith. The pope (say they) albeit *homo animalis*, though a most wicked man, though otherwise an heretic, (the worst of carnal men,) cannot but discern the things that belong unto the Spirit, all the mysteries of man's redemption, all points whatsoever necessary to man's salvation. For he cannot err in deciding such matters if he speak *ex cathedra*. More unhappy man Honorius, more fools have the whole generation been, that ever would shut their mouths, or cease to speak *ex cathedra* even to the last gasp. 242

promissiones de veritate factas, sese obstrinxit ecclesiæ. Ac sane hujus rei exemplum illud proferri potest, quod cum Joannes 22. existimaret, sanctorum animas ante diem judicii divinam essentiam non videre, idque eo tempore, quo in ecclesia (sicut Canus etiam lib. 6. de locis theologicis, cap. ult. ad 1. argument. notavit) nondum erat satis explicata hæc controversia, et ad rem definiendam sese compararet, priusquam id faceret, e vita excessit, et Benedictus successor contrariam sententiam definivit.

[s] Homines animales cum additamento.

[t] Quis autem carnalis et animalis homo non per phantasmata

6. That sundry lewd and wicked men may learnedly discourse of spiritual matters, and deduce necessary consequents out of truths supposed, or commonly received for Divine, in such points as contradict not their affections[v], or tempt them not to become partial judges of evil thoughts: that we are to reverence and obey God's word, manifested to our consciences, though by their ministry, we deny not. But that such wicked monsters of mankind as many of their popes have been, and may be, should so conceive and discern all the principles and grounds of faith, be so familiarly intimate with the Holy Spirit, that their decrees, (in matters which concern their own pomp and glory, in matters whose loss would breed their temporal ruin,) should be held for the infallible oracles of God, the

sui cordis evagetur, et constituat sibi Deum, qualis ei pro suo carnali sensu placuerit, atque ita credit tantum longe aliter quam Deus est, quantum a veritate vanitas differt. Verissimam quippe sententiam dixit apostolus, plenus lumine veritatis. *Animalis*, inquit, *homo, non percipit quæ sunt Spiritus Dei.* Et tamen de iis hæc dicebat, quos jam fuisse baptizatos ipse manifestat. Beda in hunc locum ex Augustino, l. 3. de Baptismo. This opposition betwixt the spirit and the flesh is (as we say in schools) formal, or directly contrary: so as this rule and that other late mentioned, (Rom. xii.) hold as true in the pope as in any. If he fashion himself as much to this, he is as disproportioned to the world to come as any other: if he be as carnal as other men, he is altogether as incompetent a judge of things belonging to the Spirit of God as others are, whosoever. Beda in the same place addeth, Ad animales pertinet vetus Testamentum, ad spirituales novum—. Veteris autem sacramenta cessaverunt, sed concupiscentiæ tales non cessaverunt. In illis enim sunt, quos apostolus jam per sacramentum novi Testamenti natos, adhuc tamen dicit animales, non posse percipere quæ sunt Spiritus Dei.

[v] No carnal affection, or desire habituate, but harbour some one or other heresy, if the soul be well searched, or the predominant desire or affection directly crossed; as shall (God willing) hereafter appear; so that men of lewd life or vicious, only conceive well, either of such spiritual matters as are not directly opposite to their peculiar vices, or else of such generalities, as may be prosecuted without prejudice to their affections.

only rule of faith, for all other Christians to rely upon continually: thus to deny the infallible presence, or illumination of God's Spirit, to all faithful and godly men throughout the world, and to appropriate it to a succession of such sons of Belial as their own writers picture out unto us in their legends of popes' lives, is a blasphemy against the Godhead, (I pray God it prove not so against the Holy Ghost[u],) of such huge and ugly shape, that I much marvel how it could possibly creep into any Jesuit's pen, being scarce able, I think, to get out of the wide, vast, gaping mouth of hell itself, in whose entrails it was conceived. Was it more in heat of passion (perhaps) to say, that the Devil was a familiar of the Son of God, than to teach it as an article of faith, that the holy and eternal Spirit is a perpetual associate, an infallible assistant, or familiar companion of Satan's first-born, of conjurers, enchanters, or incarnate devils? Was it so horrible and infamous a crime in Simon Magus, to offer to buy the gifts of the Holy Ghost? and is it less sin in such as he was, conjurers, sorcerers, to seek after as great, or greater spiritual prerogatives, (as great as St. Peter had,) by the same means that he did? Is it no sin for the Jesu-

[u] The matter of the Jews' blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, was their charging Christ, in whom he rested, with an unclean spirit, as appeareth in Mark iii. 22. and 30. The form or soul (if I may so speak) of that sin in them was their entertainment of that conceit against the evidence of their own consciences; Christ's life and actions bearing witness of his sanctification by the blessed Spirit. The matter of this sin in the Jew and modern Jesuit is all one, for it is the selfsame impiety, only inverted, to say or think the Devil is author of goodness, or the Holy Ghost of mischief; to make the Devil a familiar of the Son of God, and the son of Satan an associate of the Holy Spirit. Whether the pope's works do not ofttimes as truly testify his impurity as Christ's did his sanctity, the adversary will scarce question, I will not conclude; but God grant the Jesuits' parasitical encomions of their popes' sacred authority be not wilful, as were the Jews' detractings of our Saviour.

its to beg this as a *postulatum*, or main axiom of faith, that whatsoever the pope (such a pope as hath gotten his triple crown and spiritual power by simony)
243 shall decree *ex cathedra*, should be esteemed and reverenced as the dictates of the Holy Ghost? Did that old Magus want wit to insert this condition to his request, that whomsoever he should lay his hands upon *ex cathedra*, he might receive the Holy Ghost? Might not St. Peter have conferred this extraordinary gift as well upon him, as he did his infallibility upon the pope? Simon did not desire the monopoly of bestowing the Holy Ghost, but could have been content to have shared with others in this prerogative; *Give me also this power*[x]. But his brother in wickedness, the Romish Levi, of what spirit soever he be, must have this prerogative alone, that whatsoever he shall speak must be the oracle of the Holy Spirit. Is it more to have the Holy Ghost attend on Simon Magus' hands, but not on them alone, than to have him tied only unto the pope's tongue or pen? The spiritual prerogative which he sought, and that which the pope usurps, are (on the pope's part at least) equal. The manner or means of seeking them, in both alike the same. For we hear in the corner of the world, wherein we live, that your elections of men into Peter's chair, do not go gratis. I confess I do not believe the corruption of your clergy so firmly, as I do the articles of my creed, because I have not express warrant for it out of this sacred canon, which I make the rule of my faith: but ere you can make us believe the pope's infallibility, as an article of faith, you must make evident proof to the contrary: you must make it clear by testimony from above, that neither any state of Italy, or foreign prince, doth make request or suit unto your cardinals,

That the pope hath no such absolute authority as he pretends from St. Peter, proved by St. Peter's peremptory denial of the like to Simon Magus.

[x] Acts viii. 19.

that his kinsman, his countryman, or favourite may be elected pope before another. We have far greater reason to believe that such offers are both made and taken, than to think that, if a foreign prince or domestic potentate should offer a cardinal some thousands of ducats for his voice, he would answer, (like one that would be Peter's successor in sincerity,) *Thy money perish with thee, that thinkest the gift of the Holy Ghost can be bought with money*[y].

7. Yet if the cardinal take any gift upon this condition, or respect any prince's favour in such election; his and the party's sin soliciting him hereto, is altogether as great as Simon's was. For the request is in effect thus much: Let such a man have this prerogative, that on whomsoever he shall lay his curse, to whomsoever he shall impart his blessing, the one shall be accursed, the other blessed from above; whatsoever he shall determine in any controversy shall be the dictate of the Holy Ghost. And he that yields his voice upon such conditions, doth take upon him to bestow that upon the pope which St. Peter denied to Simon Magus: the pope thus chosen, doth usurp that as bestowed upon him which Simon Magus did seek; his practice and profession is continually as villainous as Simon's desires were, when he sought after this; his blessings are no better than Simon's charms.

8. It is no marvel if the Jesuits be so eager in this argument, or the politic papists so forward to disclaim the scriptures for the rule of Christian faith. For if men should so esteem of them in heart and deed, those few rules out of them already alleged would quickly descry the pope and the clergy of Rome (I mean their cardinals and statesmen) to be of all others the most 244
incompetent judges, either of scripture sense, or contro-

[y] Acts viii. 20.

versies in religion thence depending: or were the use of scriptures freely permitted to their laics, without the glosses and false representations of the Jesuits, priests, or friars, they might quickly see, that the silliest soul among them, might sooner be partaker of the life working sense, than their great statesmen can be, if so they would frame their lives, according to the known rules thereof, better than such great ones do. For silliness, or simplicity of wit or understanding, doth not so much hinder, as singleness of heart, or sincerity of conscience further men, in the search of truth necessary to their own salvation. That promise of our Saviour (*habenti dabitur*[z]) hath its proper place and peculiar force in this point. Whosoever he be that yields sincere obedience unto the least part of God's word known, to him shall be given greater knowledge. And of such is the prophet's speech most true, *They shall be all taught of God, from the greatest to the least*[a]. As well the mean scholars and silliest souls, as the greatest and wisest doctors. [b]For with great worldly

[z] Mark iv. 24, 25. *And he said unto them, Take heed what ye hear: with what measure you mete, it shall be measured unto you: and unto you that have more shall be given. For unto him that hath, shall be given; and from him that hath not, shall be taken away even that he hath.*

[a] Jer. xxxi. 34.

[b] Apostolus autem spiritu sancto locutus ait, *Scientia inflat, charitas vero ædificat.* Quod recte aliter non intelligitur, nisi scientiam tunc prodesse, cum charitas inest: sine hac autem inflare, id est, in superbiam inanissimæ quasi ventositatis extollere. Augustin. lib. 9. de Civit. Dei, cap. 20. The like affection in the pope or clergy of Rome maketh them arrogate so much unto themselves in this business of establishing belief. That which St. Austin addeth in the same place, seemeth in proportion true of them. Est ergo in dæmonibus scientia sine charitate: et ideo tam inflati, id est, tam superbi sunt, ut honores divinos, et religionis servitutem, quam vero Deo deberi sciunt, sibi sategerint exhiberi, et quantum possunt, et apud quos possunt, adhuc agunt. And again: Contrà superbiam porro dæmonum, qua pro meritis possidebatur genus humanum, Dei humilitas quæ in forma servi apparuit, quantam virtutem habeat, animæ hominum nesciunt, im-

wisdom there is always great pride, the greatest adversary to true and sanctified Christian knowledge: and the best sort of secular learning puffeth up. All the skill which men so minded can attain unto in heavenly matters, is but like lessons got by rote. It must be quite forgotten, at least utterly renounced and laid aside, before we can be admitted into the school of Christ, in which all in this life are but *parvuli*, petties or children, for their simplicity and harmless minds, for lowliness and nullity of self-conceit. Hence saith our apostle[c], *If any man think himself wise, let him become a fool that he may learn wisdom aright.* And our Saviour Christ saith unto his disciples, *Except ye be converted, and become like little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven*[d]; that is, they cannot be capable of this heavenly doctrine. For true and sanctifying grace must be engrafted in this harmless simplicity and childlike disposition.

9. It is the nature and property of God's word to be plain and facile unto such as are of disposition semblable to it; as to the sincere of heart, single in life, and plain in dealing; but obscure and difficult unto the worldly-wise. The simplicity of it, and the subtilty of the politician, or secular artist, parallel as ill, as a straight rule or square with a distorted crooked stick: *The testimony of the Lord* (saith the Psalmist) *is sure, and giveth wisdom to the simple*[e]. The word in the original *silly* or *credulous*[f], such as in worldly affairs are more easy to be deceived, than apt to deceive: and is rendered by the Septuagint νήπια, *parvuli*, which

Ingenuous simplicity (such as the orator meant when he said, Omne officium simplex est) and plaindealing are qualities best symbolizing with the internal propriety of scriptures.

munditia elationis inflatæ, dæmonibus similes superbia non scientia.

[c] 1 Corinth. iii. 18. Vide Job xxxvii. 24.

[d] Matt. xviii. 3.

[e] פתו Psalm xix. 7.

[f] Matt. xi. 25.

word it pleased our Saviour to use, when he intimates this perspicuity of God's word unto such little ones: *I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, be-*
245 *cause thou hast hid these things from the wise, and men of understanding, and hast opened them unto babes. It is so, O Father, because thy good pleasure was such.* Such as in this whole discourse we have supposed, (and this place doth prove;) that is, such as had decreed that the doctrine of life should be most difficult and hard to proud, disobedient, or craftily-minded men, but most perspicuous (because to be revealed by God) unto such little ones. And again (lest any man should presume upon his wisdom or dexterity of wit) he tells us expressly, *no man knoweth the Father, but the Son; and he to whom the Son will reveal him*[g]. And his will is, to reveal himself and his word unto all and only such as we have said, to little ones, or such as become little children, casting off the burden of age, which hath brought such faintness and weariness upon their souls, that they cannot hope for any good success in the course which tends to everlasting life, until they be disburdened of all former cares. And hence in the next verse his words are general, *Come unto me all ye that are weary and heavy laden.* So they will take up his yoke which is easy, and his burden which is light, he will free them from all the grievances and discommodities of their former yoke, learning but this one lesson of humility and meekness of him, it will teach them all the rest; for by it they shall *find rest unto their souls;* which Christ will refresh, not as the pope doth with anathemas binding unto negatives, but with the true taste of this water of life.

g Matt. xi. 27.

10. Nor will any of our adversaries, I hope, be so perverse, as to say our Saviour's doctrine in this place did hold true only for that time, wherein the knowledge of Christ, and doctrine of his gospel, was to be first published[h]. For such perversity would bewray so great ignorance in scriptures, and little experience in the course of Christianity, as they would be ashamed to be suspected of. For who sees not this opposition between worldly wisdom and heavenly knowledge, to continue still in their several professors throughout all ages. Nor can any man be sure his faith is not humourous or hypocritical, unless he be transformed into such a little one as Christ here speaks of, and have true humility surely planted in his heart. This is the fundamental or first principle, whereinto faith must be resolved: even all those graces or pledges of God's favour whereon most rely in trial of their spiritual estate, must be apparently seated in this lowliness and simplicity, or else every man through the multiplicity and subtilty of his own heart, shall be overseen in his persuasions.

11. A lively experiment of our Saviour's doctrine, and our assertion in this point, we have in St. Austin[i], as himself witnesseth: "I purposed to look into the sacred scriptures, that I might see what manner of writings they were. And lo I light on a matter altogether hid from the proud, and yet not laid open unto children, in progress lowly, in process or issue stately, and wrapped in mysteries. Finally, such as my qua-

[h] Or if they will, we shall meet with their exceptions in the article of the Godhead, and other treatises hereafter.

[i] Institui (inquit) animum intendere in scripturas sacras, ut viderem quales essent. Et ecce video rem non compertam superbis, neque nudatam pueris, sed incessu humilem, successu excelsam et velatam mysteriis: et non eram lego talis ut intrare ad eam possem. Nam illa erat quæ crescebat cum parvulis; sed ego dedignabar esse parvulus, et fastu turgidus mihi grandis esse videbat. Aug. lib. 3. Confess. cap. 5.

lity made me uncapable of entrance unto it. For the property of it was to grow up with little ones, but I disdained to be a little one, and, swollen with fastuous conceit, in mine own eyes I seemed a great one." Here
246 Valentian[k] (sucking poison out of this reverend father's honey) demands importunately, whether it be a matter of no difficulty, "to procure our freedom from this tumour of viciousness; to have our hearts purged from that soot which is as the Jewish veil unto them." And finally, "whether it be so easy a matter" (as we, to his seeming, make it) "to become humble and meek, without which virtues the scriptures were obscure and difficult unto Austin himself[l], otherwise a man of excellent wit."

12. Methinks this cumbersome Jesuit's choleric strain, and foolhardy passionate carriage in this whole controversy, doth lively resemble a strong sturdy lubber, that had thrust himself unawares into a quarrel, which he is no way able to make good; yet so stubborn, that he will not give over, but fights, and winks, and cries, and (hit he miss he) lays about him. For can any man think he sees where these fierce blows will light? As much as we have said, is most clear out of this very place of Austin, which he would throw upon us. Most clear it is, that unto such as follow

[k] An vero nullius difficultatis res est, ab hoc tumore vitiorum vacuum esse, eorumque fuligine velatum cor, instar Judæorum, non habere, sed humilem fieri ac docilem discipulum ad hujusmodi Spiritus sancti disciplinam capessendam. Valent. tom. 3. disp. 1. quæst. 1. punct. 7. sect. 4.

[l] St. Austin supposeth the scriptures to contain in them the words of life, but intimateth no other means by which either the scripture should become more plain, or the saving truth which they taught be otherwise manifested to his soul, than only by practising such rules as the scriptures prescribe for their right understanding, whence the madness of this Romish doctor may again appear. See the second part of this last folly, in the annotations unto the third paragraph of the sixteenth chapter.

our Saviour's method, set down before, that is, unto such as will become like little children, and begin (as it were) anew again; the scripture (which for the present seems hard to all far entered into the world's school) is perspicuous, clear, and easy to be learned. But whether it be hard to become such a one, or whether it be a difficult matter to lay aside all pride and self-conceit, is no part of the point now in question, nothing at all to this intended purpose. To man, no doubt, it is most hard, or rather altogether impossible. But what it is to man once made partaker of the grace of God, and power of his Spirit, let Christ Jesus the fountain of grace be judge. He hath told us, that *his yoke is easy, and his burden light*[m]. Or will they reply, that his yoke is easy indeed to bear, when it is taken up, but hard to take up. Our Saviour's next words imply the contrary: but of this question we shall take occasion hereafter. Only now I say the Jesuits of all other are most uncapable of this plea. For they hold freewill in men, whereby they may assent unto grace offered: and if men have freewill, and Christ offer his grace unto such, as use it well, the learning of humility, and taking up his yoke, will be easy through grace, though impossible to nature. But let this question concerning grace and freewill stand still, as it doth, in controversy betwixt us and them and the Lutherans. This is granted by all; that if Christ grant his grace to all that will endeavour to follow his precepts, then it is easy to all, to learn this first lesson of Christianity, lowliness and meekness, the rudiments of true knowledge in scripture, without which all other learning in them is but verbal. As this

[m] Matt. xi. 30. His yoke and burden is the practice of patience and humility which Valentian saith is so hard.

is confessed by all, so would I be resolved by any Jesuit, whether, if it be Christ's pleasure to deny his grace to any, it be not altogether impossible for him to learn this lesson perfectly, or to become a good proficient in the school of Christ, although the pope, their
247 supposed infallible teacher, should vouchsafe to catechise him *ex cathedra*. What hath this Jesuit got then, by his fierce objecting this difficulty of learning humility, for to make the scriptures seem obscure; if the same obscurity, the same impossibility of understanding them aright, still remain, albeit the pope himself should stretch his plenary power to illustrate them with his infallible authority?

13. Or will it not be more hard for the pope (being so highly placed in secular honour and dignity as he is) to stoop so low as a little child for lowliness of mind, than it will be for us poor and silly men. If it be more hard for him than us so to do, we are more likely to become better scholars in Christ's school than his infallible holiness, more likely to be more certain of the true sense or meaning of scriptures than he can be, much more certain (in all necessary points) hereof, than he can be of his infallibility. For this lesson of true humility must of necessity be learned, ere we can proceed in the true knowledge of these mysteries. Suppose this be a very hard lesson to learn, yet (*cæteris paribus*) it will be harder as men's places are higher, or their dignities greater; hardest of all to men of highest place and greatest dignities, especially if their advancements to such preeminences be (as many popes and cardinals have been) *per saltum*, or *ab extremo in extremum sine medio*, like lazy beggars suddenly mounted on stately steeds: shall then this difficulty late objected, deprive these scriptures of this dignity which we plead for? Shall this debar them from being

the infallible rule of faith? Or rather do they not, in giving this very rule of learning humility, and thus forewarning of their impossibility to be understood without it, approve themselves to be an excellent rule of faith; a more excellent rule for these superexcellent Divine mysteries, than any other rules are for ordinary, petty, or trivial arts? For suppose Bellarmine, or any other more exquisite, though he an excellent teacher of the Hebrew tongue, should in his Grammar have given this caveat, (easy to be confirmed by sound reason and experience,) that whosoever would become perfect in that language, should begin his study in his younger days, before he were engaged to subtle or profounder studies, or given to deep meditations of realities, otherwise it would be very hard for him to descend again unto grammar rules, and begin like a schoolboy to con declensions, conjugations, without which, and many other petty rules about altering of vowels, he could never hope to be an absolute Hebrician: had Bellarmine set down these or like caveats more at large, should this admonition be accounted any just exception why his Grammar (otherwise supposed authentic) should not be a perfect rule for learning Hebrew? or must we for this reason have stretched our wits to invent some infallible teacher of Hebrew for such men? I am sure he that should have found the truth of his admonitions by experience in himself or observation in others, would commend his judgment herein, and think so much better of his Grammar, or wish that he himself had known, or others would observe these admonitions, whiles they were young, and rather use Bellarmine than experience for their schoolmaster in this point.

14. Doubtless it is for want of acquainting youth and childhood with the former rules of scripture,

248 which make the scripture generally either seem obscure or difficult, or causeth men mistake them seeming evident. For when they are grown to man's estate, or be embarked in worldly affairs, or invested in secular dignities, before they have studied scriptures, or practised the former precepts; this seeming difficulty either moveth them to seek for other rules more easy to their capacity, or not to care for any rule of faith at all, or else to transform this, which God hath given for reforming his image in them, into the nature of their corrupt affections. Were this lesson of becoming like little children throughly planted in our hearts when we were children, true knowledge in other parts of scriptures would grow with us, and faith, (once planted in humility, while our hearts were tender, and easy to be wrought upon by this plain and easy precept,) albeit at the first but like a grain of mustard seed, yet having got the start of pride, and desire of secular glory in the spring, should afterwards flourish in all heavenly knowledge, and fructify in every good and acceptable work, without the husbandry, lopping, or pruning of an infallible teacher. But if we, either through our own wilfulness or parents' negligence, have perverted the ways of our youth, that they will not parallel this straight and easy rule, shall God's righteousness be prejudiced by our iniquity? Shall not his ways (this way of life) be equal, because our ways are unequal? Must we become like Seneca's blind woman, who accused every place wherein she could not see, for being too dark: must the scriptures for our blindness of heart be thought obscure? Not in themselves, (saith the Jesuit,) but unto us. How unto us? or unto which of us? Only to such as are therefore become blind, because they have not in time been made acquainted with this light. For otherwise the scriptures were written to enlighten

us, not themselves, or such as wrote them. And unto such as are blinded in their own desires, difficult they are and obscure, without any respect of persons: to the pope, as well as to any meaner man, not more proud or carnal than he. Thus we see our adversaries cannot offer one blow against us in this point, but we can make it fall more heavy upon themselves. And well were it, if their objections did light heavy only upon the objectors themselves, for they have deserved it. But here I must entreat the Christian reader to consider well upon whom their usual objections of scripture's obscurity are most likely to fall: upon us, for whose good they were given; or upon God the Father who gave them; his Son that partly spake them; his Holy Spirit who only taught them; his prophets, apostles, evangelists, or other his blessed ministers which wrote them.

CHAP. XV. 249

The Romanists' Objections against the Scriptures for being obscure, do more directly impeach their first Author and his Messengers their Penmen, than us or the Cause in hand.

1. THAT these scriptures (which our church holds canonical, and we now maintain to be the rule of faith) were given for the good of Christ's church, or multitude of faithful men throughout the world, our adversaries will not deny; or if they would, the scriptures, which expressly to deny they dare not, bear evident testimony hereof. Infinite places are brought to this purpose by such as handle that question, Whether the written word contain all points necessary to salvation?

2. St. John saith he wrote his Gospel *that we might believe*. By what authority did he undertake, by whose assistance did he perform this work? Un

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former rules) proved from the end why they were written, and the evangelists' careful endeavours to make them plain.

taken it was by God's appointment, effected by the assistance of his eternal Spirit, to the end we might believe the truth. What truth? That which he wrote concerning the mysteries of man's salvation. But how far did he intend this our belief of such mysteries should be set forward by his pen; unto the first rudiments only, or unto the midway of our course to heaven? Questionless unto the utmost period of all our hopes: for he wrote these things *that we might believe;* yea so believe in Christ, as by *believing we might have life through his name*[o]. Was he assisted by the eternal Spirit, who then perfectly knew the several tempers and capacities of every age? And did he by his direction aim at the perfect belief of succeeding ages, as the end and scope of all his writings? And yet did he write so obscurely, that he could not be understood of them for whose good he wrote? Out of controversy his desire was to be understood of all, for he envied no man knowledge, nor taught he *the faith of our glorious Lord Jesus Christ with respect of persons*[p]. He wished that not the great Agrippas, or some few choice ones only, but all that should hear or read his writings to the world's end, might be *not almost, but altogether such as he was,* faithful believers. From his fervent desire of so happy an end as the salvation of all, he so earnestly sought the only correspondent means, to wit, posterity's full instruction in the mysteries thereto belonging. And for better symbolizing with the ignorant, or men (as most of us are) of duller capacity in such profound mysteries, his paraphrase upon our Saviour's speeches is ofttimes so copious, as would be censured for prolixity or tautology in an artist. But seeing the common salvation of others, not his own applause, was the thing he sought, he disdains not to

o John xx. 31. p James ii. 1.

repeat the same thing, sometimes in the same, otherwhiles in different words, becoming in speech as his fellow-apostle was in carriage, *all unto all, that he might at leastwise of every sort gain some*[q]: ofttimes solicitous to prevent all occasion of mistaking our Saviour's meaning[r], though in matters wherein ignorance could not be deadly, nor error so easy or dangerous as in those other profundities of greatest moment, which he so dilates and works upon, as if he would have them 250
transparent to all Christian eyes.

3. Do not all the evangelists aim at the same end? Do they not, in as plain terms as they could devise or we would wish, divulge to all the world the true sense and meaning of our Saviour's parables, which neither the promiscuous multitude to whom he spake, nor his select disciples or apostles themselves, (until they were privately instructed,) understood aright, as they themselves testify: so little ashamed are they to confess their own, so they may hereby expel or prevent like ignorance in others. Tell me, were not our Saviour's parables expounded by his blessed mouth, as plain rules of life as may (without prejudice to his all-sufficiency) be expected from any other man's? Are not his similitudes (wherein notwithstanding are wrapt the greatest mysteries of the kingdom) drawn from such matters of common use, as cannot change whilst nature remains the same? for the most part so plain and easy, as will apply themselves to the attentive or well exercised in moralities? Strange it seemed unto our Saviour, that his disciples should not at the first proposal understand them; *Perceive ye not this parable? how should you then understand all other parables*[s]? Yet happy were they, that they

[q] 1 Cor. ix. 22. [r] John xxi. 23. and
[s] Mark iv. 13. Matt. xv. 16.

ashamed to bewray their ignorance by asking when they doubted, though in a point of little difficulty. This good desire of progress in their course begun, brought them within the hemisphere of that glorious light, whereby they were enabled afterward to discern the greatest mysteries of the kingdom. And unto their question concerning the meaning of that great parable of the sower, which is one of the fundamental rules of life, our Saviour immediately replies, *To you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God: but unto them that are without, all things are done in parables: that they hearing may hear, and not understand; lest at any time they should turn, and their sins should be forgiven them*[t].

4. Had our evangelists only set out the text, and concealed the comment, it might have ministered matter of suspicion whether all Christians throughout all generations, whilst this gospel shall endure, should *be taught of God from the greatest to the least of them*; or, whether Christ had not appointed some great infallible teacher as his vicar-general, to supply the same place successively in the church, that he himself had borne amongst his disciples; one, on whose living voice all the flock besides were in all doubts or difficulties to rely, as the apostles did on Christ's in the unfolding of this parable. But seeing they have plainly revealed to us in writing, what was revealed to them (concerning the meaning of this and other parables of greatest use) from our blessed Saviour's mouth; their written relations of these mysteries with their expositions must be of the same use and authority unto us, as Christ's living words were unto them. And as they were not to repair unto any other but their Master alone for

[t] Mark iv. 11. These words confirm the truth of the state of the question proposed by us.

the word of eternal life[u]; not to admit any other infallible teacher for declaration of his meaning: so may not any Christian to this day infallibly rely upon any man's expositions of his words, already expounded by himself and related by his apostles; these laid up like precious seed in our hearts, the diligent labours of God's ordinary ministers only supposed, would bring forth the true and perfect knowledge of other precepts 251
of life, in abundance, competent to every man in his rank and order.

5. For seeing what our Saviour imparted to his disciples in private, is now by God's providence plainly communicate unto us: this is an argument beyond exception, that we are not in their case, who in that parable are said to be *without*, but of their number to *whom it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God;* unless we will in life and manners imitate hypocrites rather than Christ's disciples. And lest we should prove like these Jews, which *having ears to hear would not hear*, though invited thereto by our Saviour[x]; our evangelists inculcate again and again the causes of this dulness in hearing, or conceiving what is heard, or averseness from the truth in some sort conceived. They tell us, the Jews, sometimes for ambition[y], sometimes for covetousness[z], generally for presumption[a], pride, and hypocrisy, in saying they had Abraham for their father, did make themselves uncapable of saving knowledge. To what purpose do men, guided by the Spirit of God, inculcate these or like admonitions so oft? That the growth of such carnal affections might in all succeeding [illegible] prevented: that Christian parents, forewar
mentable issue of this stubbornness

[u] John vi. 68. [x] Mark iv. 9.
[z] Luke xvi. 14. [a] John viii. 3

might teach their children these heavenly lessons, which had been so distasteful to the Jews, before these or other inveterate humours had brought them to the same or like distemper. For, (as I observed before, and this parable directly proves,) might celestial seed take root in children's hearts before these secular weeds sprung up; their souls should continually receive blessing from God, and daily drink in these streams of life, which found no entrance into such Jewish barren soil, as *did bear nothing but thorns and brambles, whose end was to be burned*[b], as altogether unworthy of more watering.

6. Shall either the world, devil, or flesh, be able to breed the least suspicion in any Christian heart; whether God, who enabled the apostles and evangelists to speak so plainly to the capacity of all sorts of men in every nation, cannot, either by increasing internal docility in succeeding ages, or sublevating their dull capacity by facility and plenty of external means, repair whatsoever the injuries of time might detract from the perspicuity of writings apostolical or evangelical? So that although the decay of dialects, absoluteness of phrase, or alterations of customs, (whereunto they allude as well known then, because in use,) might breed some difficulty unto posterity; yet (unless true faith be decayed with them, or all characters of God's providence worn out of our hearts) how can we distrust, whether he, by whose wisdom as well Divine mysteries unheard before, as skill to utter them in every language, were extraordinarily and immediately infused into illiterate souls, without the help or ministry of man; cannot or will not, by his good blessing upon our endeavours in the ordinary course of attaining skill in sacred tongues, continue the use of tongues

[b] Hebrews vi. 8.

and all other good means whatsoever, necessary or expedient, either for our right understanding, or communicating the infallible truth already taught, without any other's infallible assistance besides his, who can teach us as infallibly by means in themselves not infallible, as he hath done others without any means at all. To 252
doubt of God's providence in this point, were to doubt whether he were the same God still: and if the same, he will (albeit by other means) perform the same effects still; unless the sins of the Christian world deserve the contrary, and pull that blindness, which (in our Saviour's time) reigned in those Jews, upon themselves by like hardness of heart, pride, or hypocrisy. And if so they do, what shall this supposed infallibility of the pope avail? Is his teaching more infallible than Christ's was? shall he loose where God hath bound? shall he disannul what the Almighty hath ratified? shall he make the scriptures clear to them, before whose hearts the Lord hath laid a veil? or shall he give sight, where he that made the eye hath called for blindness? O that they could remember this who have forgotten their God, and cannot see, that whosoever accuseth the scriptures of difficulty or obscurity doth indict the omnipotent of impotency, in not being able to perform what by his apostles he intended.

CHAP. XVI.

That all the Pretences of Scriptures' Obscurity are but Mists and Vapours rising from the Corruption of the Flesh, and may by the pure Light of Scriptures rightly applied easily be dispelled.

1. UNTO this and all demands of like nature—If the scriptures be not obscure, how chanceth it tha many find such difficulties in them, even in those which seem to contain in them matters of faith

answer is already given: It was the Almighty's good pleasure to decree, that the scriptures should be plain and easy to such as faithfully practise their most plain and easy precepts, but hard and difficult to be understood aright of such as wilfully transgress them, or knowing them to be God's word, do not glorify them as his word: most difficult, most impossible to be understood of such as acknowledging by what spirit they were written, yet renounce their authority, or disclaim them for the rule of their faith. All such, though for the clearness of their understanding in other speculations they may seem to have angelical heads, yet for Divine mysteries, have but Jewish or obscure hearts: and being blinded in their minds, they imagine the scripture whereon they look to be obscure. This answer notwithstanding, though most true, will not satisfy all. For seeing this blindness in most men is not voluntary, at the least not wilful or affected, the captious will yet demand, How shall they help it? The scriptures plainly teach how they may be holpen. What can be more plain than that rule, *If any man want wisdom, let him ask of God*[c]: yea, many do so, and yet go without it. So they must, as the scripture telleth us, *if they ask amiss.* Doth the scripture then serve as a straight rule to direct them how they should ask aright? Yes. For what rule can be more plain than that of St. John[d], *Whatsoever we ask we receive of him, because we keep his commandments, and do those things which are pleasing in his sight?* The promise indeed is plain, but the condition hard: for the first thing we would ask of God is grace to keep his commandments. But what hope have sinners to re-
253 ceive this, seeing he heareth only such as keep his commandments? Will this or any other rule of scripture

[c] James i. 5. [d] 1 John iii. 22.

help us out of this labyrinth? It will not fail us, nor forsake us. For if we have but a desire to amend our lives, Christ's words are as plain as forcible[e], *he quencheth not smoking flax, a bruised reed he will not break*[e]. And this is his commandment, that we try the truth of this and other like sayings of comfort by relying upon his mercy; or, if we do but seek after repentance, we do that which is pleasing in his sight; for he is not pleased in the death of a sinner, but rejoiceth at his repentance. If we be wanting to ourselves in the practice of these rules, the pope's infallible authority shall never be able to supply our negligence; his blessing, where God hath laid his curse, shall do as little good as Balaam's endeavour to curse the Israelites did them harm whom God had blessed. Observing the former precepts well, the word of God, which these men (belike out of their own experience) challenge of obscurity, should be *a lantern unto our feet, and a light unto our paths*[f], as it was unto David's.

2. For the reader's further satisfaction, may it please him but unpartially to consider what two of the most learned Jesuits, in matters of modern controversies, could answer unto this last place of the Psalmist, Bellarmine would have two strings to his deceitful and broken bow. "First," saith he, "it may be answered, that the Psalmist speaks not of all scriptures, but of the commandments only." If this answer of his could stand for good, it would serve as a new supporter to our former assertion grounded on our Saviour's words in the seventh of John. For thus the commandments shall not be obscure, but *a lantern unto our feet*, and if we follow them, they will be (as I have shewed before) a perfect light unto us, to discern true doctrine from false. And in this respect, all good commandments

[e] Matt. xii. 20. [f] Psalm cxix. 105.

(not the Decalogue, or these ten only) are properly a light, whereby we may clearly know, as to avoid evil, so to discern that which is good. And by this light was David conducted unto that true wisdom which his enemies wanted: *By thy commandments thou hast made me wiser than mine enemies*[g]. But what reason had Bellarmine to think, that David in the forementioned verse should mean the commandments only? For there he saith plainly, *Thy word* דברך, which is much more general than מצותיך עדותיך commandments or testimonies: yet David saith, that *he had more understanding than all his teachers*, not the infallible teacher that sat (if any such there were) in Moses' chair excepted. So that his commandments are a light, his testimonies a light, and his word a light. And the best interpreters, as well theirs[h] as ours[i], take these words, *testimonies, precepts, commandments, words*, promiscuously throughout this whole psalm. Any one
254 of these (most of all the most general of all words) signify at least all scripture which serves for man's direction in the way of life.

3. None can be restrained to the Decalogue only. This, Bellarmine saw well enough. Wherefore his se-

[g] Psalm cxix. 98.

[h] Synonymos autem usurpat, (etsi Hilarius neget) pro divina lege et sapientia, hæc, utroque numero, legem, mandata, statuta, viam, judicia, testimonium, præcepta, justitiam, æquitatem, justificationes, sermones, verbum, eloquium, veritatem. Nam vel non differunt, vel cum re idem sint, eandemque Dei legem doctrinamque significent, ratione et notatione duntaxat distinguuntur, quatenus legis divinæ qualitates, notæ, perfectiones, proprietates variæ sunt ac multiplices. Genebrard. com. in primam partem Psal. secundum nos, 119.

[i] Vide Mollerum in eundem Psalmum. [v. 105.] Verbum propheticum lucernæ comparans apostolus Petrus, habemus, inquit, certiorem propheticum sermonem, cui bene facitis, intendentes veluti lucernæ lucenti in obscuro loco. Quod itaque hic ait, lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum et lumen semitis meis: verbum est quod scripturis sanctis omnibus continetur. Aug. in versum Psalmi citatum, Lucerna pedibus, &c.

cond answer is; It may (it must) be granted, that he speaks of all, or rather of the whole scripture. "But the scriptures," saith he, "are called *a lantern* and *a light, non quia facile intelligantur*, not because they are perspicuous and easy to be understood, *sed quia intellectæ cum fuerint illustrant mentem*, but because when they are understood they illuminate the mind or understanding." Thus much we have said before, and still do grant, that the scriptures are not plain and easy unto all, live they as they list; nor do they shine unto such as are blinded in the pride, vanity, or corruption of their hearts: yet a light in themselves, and a light to all that love not darkness more than light. A light, not after they are understood, for David[k] got true understanding by their light; whose property is, as well to shew the way how to avoid that blindness, which causeth them to seem obscure, as to illuminate the clearsighted. For as by the sun we see what bodies are not transparent or penetrable by its light; so by scriptures we discern

[k] *The entrance into thy words sheweth light, and giveth understanding unto the simple,* Psalm cxix. 130: and ver. 104, *By thy precepts I have gotten understanding: therefore I hate all the ways of falsehood.* From which words St. Augustine gathers this doctrine: A mandatis tuis intellexi. Aliud est mandata tua intellexi, aliud est a mandatis tuis intellexi. Nescio ergo quid aliud se significet intellexisse a mandatis Dei; quod est, quantum mihi videtur, faciendo mandata Dei, pervenisse se dicit ad earum rerum intelligentiam quas concupiverit scire. Propter quod scriptum est, concupisti sapientiam, serva mandata, et Dominus præbet eam tibi, ne quisquam præposterus antequam habeat humilitatem obedientiæ, velit ad altitudinem sapientiæ pervenire, quam capere non potest, nisi ordine venerit. Audiat ergo altiora te ne quæsieris, et fortiora te ne scrutatus fueris, sed quæ præcepit tibi Dominus, illa cogita semper. Sic homo ad occultorum sapientiam pervenit per obedientiam mandatorum. Cum autem dixisset, quæ tibi præcepit dominus illa cogita: ideo addidit *semper*, quia et custodienda est obedientia, ut percipiatur sapientia, et percepta sapientia, non est deserenda obedientia. Aug. in Psal. 118. (v. 104.)

what be the obstacles that hinder the intromission of their splendour (in itself and for itself most apparent) into our hearts. And the glimpse of their scattered beams, appearing through the chinks and ruptures of that veil of corruption which nature hath woven about the eyesight of our souls, doth enlighten us so far as we begin to desire the veil's removal, that we may have a full fruition of their marvellous and comfortable light: as men in the morning, after long and irksome darkness, (unless desirous with the sluggard in the Proverbs to have *a little more sleep*,) are occasioned to open their windows, when they see the sunbeams appear in at the chinks. My meaning is, those precepts whereof I spake before (to learn humility and meekness—God's threatenings to sinners—his sweet promises to the penitent—to pray for wisdom from above—and infinite other like) are so perspicuous and clear, that they cannot but find entrance into enveiled, if not withal maliciously wilful or sluggish hearts; and finding entrance, cannot but suggest considerations what their former life hath been, and whereunto their now professed hopes do call them, that *now it is time they should arise from sleep, seeing salvation draweth nearer than when they first believed: that the night is past, and the day at hand, therefore time to cast away the works of darkness, and put on the armour of light: to walk honestly, as in the day; not in gluttony and drunkenness, neither in chambering and wantonness, nor in strife and envy*[h]. Unto hearts thus prepared, the scriptures need no other commendation than their own, no infallible proposer's authority to illustrate or confirm their truth, more than the sun doth a more glorious star, to manifest his brightness unto men endued with perfect sight. For unto such

[h] Rom. xiii. 11—13.

as walk like children of the gospel's light, nothing 255
necessary to their soul's health can be hid in darkness; not the day of destruction, which shall come as a snare upon other inhabitants of the earth, can *steal upon them as a thief in the night*[i].

4. But unto infidels, haughty, and proud-minded men, unto such as delight in sin, and love to sleep in sinful pleasures, unto such as scorn to be controlled in their courses, the light of God's word, if it once shine, or send some scattered rays into their hearts, it shines not so again, for they draw a curtain, and spread the veil, lest further intromission of such beams might interrupt their pleasant sleep. This did Luther well teach, (had he been as well understood,) that the scripture was only obscure or difficult unto infidels or proud minds. But Bellarmine[k] replies, *At certe David non erat superbus aut infidelis:* "Sure David was neither a proud man, nor an infidel," and yet the scripture was obscure and difficult to him. Let him be accounted both, that thinks David was either a proud man or an infidel. But the question is not, whether he were, but what was the cause he was not such: was it not [l]*the perfection of God's law which did convert his soul?* was it not *the certainty of God's testimonies that gave wisdom unto his simplicity?* Yes, *by these precepts he had gotten understanding, to hate all the ways of falsehood.* And *except that law had been his delight, he had perished in his affliction*[m]. How then doth Bellarmine prove that law was obscure to him, which, as he himself confesseth, *had given light unto his eyes*[n]? If it were not, why

[i] 1 Thess. v. 2.
[k] Bellarm. lib. 3. de verbo Dei, c. 1.
[l] Psal. xix. 7. cxix. 104.
[m] Psal. cxix. 92.
[n] Psal. xix. 8. Videbat Lutherus posse objici, unde sint tot controversiæ, si scriptura est tam clara: duo effugia excogitavit unum, quod scriptura, etiams

did he pray to God to understand it? Then I perceive the Jesuits' drift in this present controversy is to establish a rule of faith, so easy and infallible as might direct in all the ways of truth without prayer to God or any help from heaven. Such a one it seems they desire, as all might understand at the first sight, though living as luxuriously as their popes, or minding worldly matters as much as their cardinals; *nisi velint nimium esse cæci*, unless they would, as Valentian speaks, desire to be blind.

5. Surely more blind than beetles must they be, that can suffer themselves to be persuaded, that ever God or Christ would have a rule for man's direction in the mysteries of salvation, so plain and easy, as he should not need to be beholden to his Maker and Redeemer for the true and perfect understanding of it.

cubi sit obscura, tamen illud idem alibi clare proponit. Alterum, quod scriptura, licet per se clarissima, tamen superbis et infidelibus sit obscura ob eorum cœcitatem, et pravum affectum. Addit Brentius in proleg.: Contra Petrum a Soto, tertium effugium, quod etiam interdum sit obscura, propter phrases alienæ linguæ, id est, Hebraicæ et Græcæ, tamen sensus ejus clarissimus sit. Quæ sententia manifesto falsa est: nam scriptura ipsa de sua difficultate atque obscuritate testimonium perhibet. Psal. cxix. Da mihi intellectum, et scrutabor legem tuam. Ibid. Revela oculos meos, et considerabo mirabilia de lege tua. Ibid. Faciem tuam illumina super servum tuum, et doce me justificationes tuas. Et certe David noverat totam scripturam, quæ tunc erat, et noverat phrases linguæ Hebraicæ, nec erat superbus aut infidelis. Bellarm. lib. 3. de verbo Dei, cap. 1. Bellarmine would prove the scriptures to be obscure, because David prays to God for the right understanding of them. And Valentian would persuade us to rely upon the church's infallible authority, because it is a hard matter to pray unto God (as St. Augustine did) for the gift of interpretation. His words are these: Quid autem precatio ad Deum pro sapientiæ interpretationisque scripturæ dono? An exigua difficultas est et pie et perseveranter illud cum eodem Augustino lib. 11. Confess. cap 2. orare: Domine attende, &c. Valent. tom. 3. disp. 1. quæst. 1. punct. 7. paragr. 4. These words of Valentian immediately follow his former observation upon St. Austin, noted paragr. 11. chap. 14.

This is a wisdom and gift, which cometh only from above, and must be daily and earnestly sought for at the hands of God: who (we may rest assured) will be always more ready to grant our petitions herein with less charges, than the pope to give his decisions in a doubtful case. Had David asked this wisdom of him that sat in Moses' chair, we might suspect the pope might be sued unto. But David's God is our God, his Lord our Christ, our Redeemer, and hath spoken more plainly unto us than unto David, who yet, by his meditations on God's written laws, added light to Moses' writings, as later prophets have done to his. All which in respect of the gospel's brightness are but as lights shining in dark places: yet even the least conspicuous amongst them such as will give manifest evidence against us to our eternal condemnation, if we seek this wisdom from any others than Christ's, his prophets' and apostles' doctrine, by any other means or mediatorship than David did his, from God's law written by Moses. 256

6. Let us now see what Valentian can say unto the forecited testimonies[p], and to that other like unto it: [q] *We have also a most sure word of the prophets, to which ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place*[r], *until the day dawn, and the day star ariseth in your hearts.* "[s] It is true,"

p Psal. cxix. 105.

q 2 Pet. i. 19.

r Yet might the prophets' writings, if any place of scripture, seem obscure.

s Concedimus igitur pari modo, sacras literas, quæ divinæ doctrinæ continent lumen, tanquam lucernam esse per se ipsam splendidissimam semper, atque fulgentissimam. Sed nobis tamen considerandum est, quomodo sit hoc lumen non in se modo lucidum, verum etiam (ut regius propheta, Psal. xviii. dicit) illuminans oculos. Nunquid qua ratione unusquisque ingenii proprii atque industriæ suæ finibus illud tanquam modio quodam exiguo comprehendit? Minime vero, sed quatenus est divinitus in ec siæ catholicæ authoritat quam in candelabro pos luceat omnibus qui in

saith the doctor, "the word of God is a light, and this light is clear, and illuminates the eyes. But it must be considered how it comes to enlighten our eyes: do you suppose that it effects this, inasmuch as every man doth comprehend it, within the bounds of his private wit or industry, as it were in a little bushel? Nothing less. But it effects it, as it is placed in the authority of the catholic church, as in a candlestick, where it may give light to all that are in the house. For we shall shew," saith he, "in due place, that this authority of the church is the living judge and mistress of faith. And therefore it is necessary that she should carry this light, which is contained in holy writ, and shew it unto all that associate themselves to her, and remain in her bosom; although they be unlearned men, and such as are not able by themselves to behold this light, as it is contained in the scriptures as in a lantern."

7. He that could find in his heart to spend his groat or go a mile to see a camel dance a jig; let him but lay his finger on his mouth, that he spoil not the pageant with immoderate laughing, and he may (without any further cost or pains) be partaker of as pretty a sport, to see a grand demure school divine, laying aside his wonted habit of metaphysical proof, turned doctor Similitude on a sudden, and swaggering it in the metaphorical cut. For what one joint or strain is there, in this long laborious vast similitude, that doth any way incline unto the least semblance of

Matt. v. Hanc enim ecclesiæ authoritatem docebimus postea suo loco, esse in universum judicem atque magistram fidei vivam: idcirco necesse est, ut lumen illud fidei, quod in divinis literis splendet, præferat ipsa atque ostendat omnibus, qui ad eam aggregantur, in eaque manent, licet ineruditi sint alioqui, nec valeant ipsi per se aspicere lumen illud, ut in ipsis literis sanctis tanquam in lucerna continetur. Valent. tom. 3. disp. 1. quæst. 1. punct. 7. parag. 4.

truth, or can be drawn to illustrate any such meaning as this man intended, or any way to break the force of our writer's arguments drawn from the forecited places? For, first, what semblance is there between a private man's interpretation, or comprehension of scripture sense, and the putting of a light or candle under a bushel? For what though some one, some few, or more such men, will apprehend this or that to be the full meaning of some controversed place in scripture? I am (by our church's doctrine) no more bound to believe 257
them, than I am to believe the pope of Rome, whom I never saw nor knew. I am bound to believe neither of them more, than if they should tell me, that the whole light of that candle which shines alike to all, were only comprehended in their eyes. For by our doctrine I may behold the same light of scriptures which they do, as freely as they; judge of it by mine own eyes and sense, as well as they; not only submit my sense and judgment unto theirs. But if we should (as this Jesuit would have us) permit the judgment of all scripture sense, wholly and irrevocably unto the pope and his cardinals; as if their consistory were the complete hemisphere, or rather the ὅλοsphere, the whole sphere wherein this heavenly lamp doth shine: then indeed we should see no more of its light than we could of a candle put under a bushel, or locked up in some close room; in which case we might believe others, that it did shine there still, but whether it did so or no, we could not judge by our own eyes. And in like manner would this doctor persuade us that we should judge of this light of scriptures, only by the testimony or authority of such as see it shine in the consistory at Rome, not with our own eyes. Had the Lord permitted but one grain of good wit to have remained in this bushel of bran; not impudence in grain

could without blushing have offered to accuse our church for hiding the light of scriptures under a bushel; whenas we contend, the free use of it should be permitted to the whole congregation. But he disputeth of the light, as blind men may of colours. He lived at Ingolstade, and the light of God's word was at Rome, locked up within the compass of the consistory, so that he could not see to make his comparison of it. Secondly, what proportion is there between the church's authority (such authority as he claims for his church) and a candlestick? Let the consistory be supposed the candlestick, wherein the word of God doth shine as a light or candle. Doth it indeed shine there? Unto whom? To all that will associate themselves to that church? Come then, let every man exhort his neighbour to repair to the mountain of the Lord. Shall we there immediately see the truth of scriptures clearly and distinctly with our own eyes, because the pope or Trent council holds out unto us the book of canonical scripture? May private spirits discern their true sense in matters of faith, as clearly as if they were a light indeed to thee? O no; you quite mistake his meaning in making such collections: let Valentian explicate himself in the end of this fourth paragraph.

8. "After the church hath once gathered any opinion out of scriptures, and thereupon opposeth the scripture (thus understood by it, according to the apostolical tradition) unto contrary errors; it is extreme impiety and wickedness to desire any more, (either concerning the authority or interpretation of that parcel of scripture,) under what pretence soever, of difficulty, obscur-
258 ity, or the like. For that scripture"—I pray mark his words well—"which is commended and expounded unto us by the authority of the church, that scripture now (*ea jam*), even for this reason (*hoc ipso*), is most

authentic, and shines most splendently, most clearly, like a light, videlicet, as we have formerly expounded, *put upon a candlestick*[t]:" nay in good sooth, just like a candlestick put upon a light or candle. For in this country wherein we live, we see the candlestick by virtue of the light, not the light by means or virtue of the candlestick. And yet if your church be the candlestick, as you suppose, and the scripture the light, (as you expressly acknowledge,) we must by your doctrine discern the light of scriptures only by the commendation, explication, or illumination of your church, the candlestick. And this illumination is only her bare asseveration; for scripture she seldom expounds, but only by negatives or anathemas. The best correction that can be made of this untoward, crooked, unwieldy similitude, would be this: Whereas this doctor supposeth the pope to be the church, and saith further, *necesse est ut lumen illud fidei quod in divinis literis splendet præferat ecclesia;* let him put *lucem* for *lumen*, and so the pope (being by his assertion the church) may be truly called *Lucifer*. And then, as when cloth shrinks in the wetting, men shape their garments accordingly, making sometimes a jerkin of that which was intended for a jacket; so out of this unhandsome ill-spun similitude, which was marred in the making, we may frame a shorter, which will hold ex-

[t] Posteaquam ecclesia sententiam aliquam ex scriptura colligit, scripturamque proinde, ut est a se secundum apostolicam traditionem intellecta, contrariis erroribus opponit: summa improbitas est, aliquid præterea desiderare in ejusmodi scripturæ vel authoritate, vel interpretatione, quocunque id fiat sive difficultatis sive obscuritatis prætextu. Quæ enim scriptura per authoritatem ecclesiæ commendatur, explicaturque, ea jam hoc ipso et maxime est authentica, et splendidissime clarissimeque lucet, tanquam lucerna, videlicet (ut supra exponebamus) posita super candelabrum. Tom. 3. disp. 1. quæst. 1. punct. 7. paragraph. 4.

ceeding well, on this fashion: Even as Satan, being the prince of darkness, doth to men's seeming transform himself into an angel of light; just so doth the Roman Lucifer, being (by Valentian's confession) but the candlestick, labour to transform himself into the light itself, and would be taken for such a light or candle as should make the very light of heaven itself (God's word) to shine most splendently and clearly by the glorious beams of his majestical infallibility once cast upon it. For otherwise, unless the supernatural glory of his infallibility do infuse light, or add fresh lustre to this light or lantern of truth, the candlestick naturally gives no increase of perspicuity to the light or candle, which will shine as clear in a private man's hands (so he will take the pains to hold it) as in a public candlestick. But that which I would have the serious reader to observe especially, is this speech of his; Scripture, as once commended unto us, or expounded by the church's authority, becomes thereby most authentic, and shines most clearly and most splendently[u]. For this same doctor, (if a doctor may be said the same, affirming and denying the same,) in the beginning of that dispute would gladly shuffle so, as he should not be taken with that trick, which will discredit their cause for ever, and descry their villainous blasphemy in this doctrine of their church's authority. There he would persuade us, that he doth not allow of this speech, "I believe this or that to be a Divine revelation, because the church doth tell me so:" or of this, "The church is the cause why I believe the Divine revelations:" whereas this speech of his (*Quæ scriptura per authoritatem*) doth infer the au-

[u] Quæ scriptura per authoritatem ecclesiæ commendatur explicaturque ea jam hoc ipso, et maxime authentica est, et splendidissime clarissimeque lucet.

thority of the church to be the very principal and immediate cause of our assent unto scriptures.

9. Secondly, I would have the sober Christian reader 259
to observe what an unhallowed and unchristian conceit it is, to admit the scriptures for a lantern, and yet to affirm that Christians cannot behold the light therein contained, but only as the church of Rome doth hold it out; what is this else but to call the people from the marvellous light of the gospel unto the fearful lightnings of the law[x]? and to make the pope that mediator which the people implicitly did request when they desired that Moses might speak to them, not God[y]. If we be in Christ, then are we not called into mount Sinai, to burning fire, blindness, darkness, and tempests; this light of the gospel is not environed with a fearful cloud or smoke, threatening destruction if we should go up into the mount to hear the Lord himself speak: *we have an advocate with the Father*, and need not look for a Moses to go up for us, while we stand trembling afar off. For as our apostle tells us, Heb. xii. 22, *we are come unto the mount Sion, and to the city of the living God, the celestial Jerusalem, and to the company of innumerable angels, and to the congregation of the firstborn, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just and perfect men, and to Jesus the mediator of the new testament, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel.* What is the consequence or effect of this our calling? Our apostle makes this inference, ver. 25, *See therefore that ye despise not him that speaketh.* Whom did he mean? the pope or cardinals? But they would be but

[x] Yet have the papists in times of darkness borne the people in band that the Bible was the holy mount which no man might approach but the priest.

[y] Exod. xx. 19.

of like authority as Moses was; but he that speaketh unto us is of far greater. For so our apostle collects, *See that ye despise not him that speaketh: for if they escaped not which refused him that spake on earth, much more shall we not escape, if we turn away from him which speaketh from heaven.* The Israelites, I suppose, had despised Moses, if they had admitted any other infallible teacher besides him, whilst he was alive, or believed any other as well as his writings after his death, but only so far forth as they could discern their words to be consonant unto his. If Moses' writings were to these Jews a plain rule of faith, then much more must Christ's word, registered by his apostles and evangelists, be the rule of faith unto us. That Moses' doctrine was their rule of faith, a rule most plain and easy, these places following abundantly testify.

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CHAP. XVII.

That the Mosaical Writings were a most perfect Rule, plain and easy to the ancient Israelites.

1. So perfect directions had Moses left for posterity's perpetual instruction, that a great prophet in later ages[z], desirous to bring God's people into the right paths which their fathers had forsaken, and for this purpose professing to impart to them whatsoever he had heard or learned from his godly ancestors, doth but trace out the print of Moses' footsteps, almost obliterate and overgrown by the sloth and negligence of former times, wherein every man had trod what way he liked best. And though the same prophet descend to later ages, as low as David's, yet he proceeds still by the same rule, relating nothing but such historical events or experiments as confirm the truth of Moses' Divine predictions, such as are yet extant in canonical

[z] The author of the 78th Psalm, ver. 3, 4.

scriptures. So perfect and absolute, in his judgment, was that part of the Old Testament which then was written, to instruct, not only the men, such as he was, but every child of God, that he presumes not to know or teach more than in it was written. And thus much this people should have done by Moses' precept without a prophet for their remembrancer: *And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be in thine heart: and thou shalt rehearse them continually unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou tarriest in thine house, and as thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes. Also thou shalt write them upon the posts of thine house, and upon thy gates*[a]. And again, *Set your hearts unto all the words which I command you this day, that you may command them unto your children, that they may observe and do all the words of this law. For it is no vain word concerning you, but it is your life: and by this word you shall prolong your days*[b].

2. Questionless they that were bound to observe and do this law were bound to know it; and yet Moses refers them not to his successor, as if it were so obscure that it could not possibly be known without his infallibility; but on the contrary, he supposeth it so plain and easy, that every father might instruct his son in it, and every mother her daughter. It was their own daily experience of the fruits and benefits in obeying, of their harms and plagues in disobeying his precepts, which was to seal their truth unto their con-

[a] Deut. vi. 6. See Sasbout on the words of St. Paul, 2 Tim. iii. *Thou hast known the holy scripture of a child.*

[b] Deut xxxii. 46.

sciences. For without such observation, without squaring their lives and comparing their thoughts and actions unto this straight and plain rule, all other testimonies of men, or authorities of their most infallible teachers, were in vain. The miracles which they had seen to-day were quite forgotten ere nine days after. Nor could their persuasions or conceit of Moses' infallibility serve them for any rule, when they had shaken off these inward cogitations, and measured not the truth of his predictions by experiments. In their temptations they were as ready to disclaim Moses, as always they were to distrust God, whose mighty won-
261 ders they had seen. To what use then did the sight of all God's wonders, or of miracles wrought by Moses, serve? Motives they were, necessary and excellent, to incline their stubborn hearts to use this law of God for their rule, in all their actions and proceedings: and to cause them set their hearts unto it, as Moses in his last words commands them[c]. For this law, as he had told them before, was in their hearts[d].

3. Would any man that doth fear the Lord or reverence his word, but set his heart to read over this book of Deuteronomy, or the one hundred and nineteenth, with sundry other Psalms, but with ordinary observation or attention, (that so the character of God's Spirit, so lively imprinted in them, might be as an amulet to prevent the Jesuits' enchantments,) it would be impossible for all the wit of men or angels ever to fasten the least suspicion on his thoughts, whether the ancient faithful Israelites did take this law of Moses for their infallible rule in all their proceedings. For nothing can be made more evident than this truth is in itself; that the Israelites' swerving from this rule was the cause of their departure from their God; and the oc-

[c] Deut. xxxii. 46. [d] Deut. xxx. 14.

casion or cause of their swerving from it was this devilish persuasion, which Satan suggested to them then, (as the Jesuits do unto the Christian people now,) that this law was too obscure, too hard, too difficult to be understood; no complete rule for their actions without traditions, or relying upon priests, or men in chief authority[e]. This hypocrisy Moses did well foresee would be the beginning of all their miseries, the very watchword to apostasy. For which cause he labours so seriously to prevent it; Deut. xxx. 14, *For this commandment which I set before thee this day, is not hid from thee, neither far off, but the word is very near unto thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart, to do it.* How was it in their mouths and in their hearts, when it was so obscure and difficult unto them after Moses' death? It was in their hearts, and in their posterity too, had they set their hearts to it. But as it is true, *Pars sanitatis est velle sanari*, "It is a part of health to be willing to be healed;" so was it here *Pars morbi, nolle sanari*, more than a part of this their grievous disease (their blindness of heart) was their proneness to be persuaded that this word or doctrine, which Moses here taught, was too obscure and difficult for them to follow. They first began (as the Jesuits do) to pick quarrels with God, for which their stubbornness he gave them over to their heart's desire; and this his sacred word, which should have been *a lantern unto their feet, and a light unto their paths*, as it was to

[e] Their priests' authority was never more stood upon, than in those times wherein Moses was in least request, and their skill in his writings as little. So in Jehoiakim's days they oppose their priests and other state prophets unto Jeremy. Jer. xviii. 18. *Then said they, Come, and let us imagine some device against Jeremiah; for the law shall not perish from the priest, nor counsel from the wise, nor the word from the prophet. Come, let us smite him with the tongue, and let us not give heed to any of his words.*

David's, became a *stumblingblock, and a stone of offence*, 1 Cor. i. 23. What was the reason? By their swerving from this plain and straight rule, their ways became crooked, and their actions unjust. And it is the observation of the wise son of Sirach, *As God's ways are right and plain unto the just, so are they stumblingblocks unto the wicked*[f]. Not Moses himself, had he been then alive, could have made this, or any other true rule of faith, plain unto these Jews, whilst they remained perverse and stubborn. And had they (without Moses' or any infallible teacher's help) cast off this crookedness of heart, Moses' infallible doctrine had still remained easy, straight, and plain unto them. For it was in their hearts, though hid and
262 smothered in the wrinkles of their crooked hearts. In our Saviour's time they will not assent unto the word written, nor unto the Eternal Word, unto which all the writings of the prophets gave testimony, unless they may see a sign[g]: What was the cause? They had not laid Moses' commandments to their hearts. For *had they* (from their hearts) *believed Moses*[h], *they had believed Christ*[i]. For all whose miracles, wrought for their good in their sight and presence, they cannot or will not see that his words were *the*

[f] Ecclus. xxxix. 24.

[g] John vi. 30. 1 Cor. i. 22.

[h] Quod vero subjungit Malachias, Mementote legis Moisi servi mei quam mandavi ei in Choreb ad omnem Israel: præcepta et judicia opportune commemorat, post declaratum magnum futurum inter observatores legis contemptoresque discrimen: simul etiam ut discant legem spiritualiter intelligere, et inveniant in ea Christum per quem judicem facienda est inter bonos et malos ipsa discretio. Non enim frustra idem Dominus ait Judæis, si crederetis Moisi, crederetis et mihi, de me enim ille scripsit: carnaliter quippe accipiendo legem, et ejus promissa terrena rerum cælestium figuras esse nescientes in illa murmura corruerunt, ut dicere auderent: Vanus est qui servit Deo. Et quid amplius quia custodivimus mandata ejus, et quia ambulavimus simplices ante faciem Domini omnipotentis. August. de Civitate Dei, lib. 20. cap. 28.

[i] John v. 46.

words of eternal life, as Peter confesseth, John vi. 68. Nor would any Jesuit have acknowledged as much, had he been in their place. For why should he? Any other might say he had the Spirit of God, and that he was the Messias; and what if Peter, one of his fellows, late a fisherman, did confess him? the Scribes and Pharisees, principal members of the visible church, deny him to be their Messias. And how should they know his words to be the word of God, unless the church had confirmed them? If Christ himself should have said in their hearing as he did to the Jews, John v. 46, *Moses wrote of me, consider his doctrine, and lay it to your hearts;* a Jesuit would have replied, You say Moses wrote of you, but how shall we know that he meant you? Moses is dead, and says nothing, and they that sit in his chair say otherwise. And verily the Scribes and Pharisees had far greater probabilities to plead for the infallibility of that chair, than the Jesuits can have for their popes': who, had they been in the others' place, could have coined more matter out of that one saying of our Saviour, Matt. xxiii. 2, *Sedent in cathedra Mosis*, for the Scribes and Pharisees' infallible authority, than all the papists in the world have been able to extract out of all the scriptures that are or can be urged, for the pope or church of Rome's infallibility.

4. The Scribes and Pharisees (though no way comparable to the Jesuits for cunning in painting rotten, or subtilty in oppugning causes true and sound) could urge for themselves against such as confessed Christ, that *none of the rulers nor of the Pharisees did believe him, but only a cursed crew of such as knew not the law*, John vii. 48. They could object the law was obscure, and the interpretation of it did belong to them. But could these pretences excuse the people for

not obeying Christ's doctrine? You will say, perhaps, they could not be excused, because Christ's miracles were so many and manifest. These were somewhat indeed, if Christ had been their accuser. But our Saviour saith plainly, that *he would not accuse them to his Father*[k]. And for this cause he would not work many miracles amongst such as were not moved with the like already wrought, lest he should increase their
263 sins. If Christ did not, who then had reason to accuse them? Moses, as it is in the same place, did; Moses, in whom they trusted, and on whom they fastened their implicit faith; Moses, of whom they thought and said, We will believe as he believed; Moses, whose doctrine they (to their seeming) stood as stiffly for against Christ's new doctrine, (as they supposed,) as the Jesuits do for the catholic church (as they think) against heretics and sectaries, as they term us. Why then is Moses, whom thus they honoured, become their chief accuser? Because while they did believe on him, only for tradition, or from pretence of succession, or for the dignity of their temple, church, or nation, they did not indeed believe him nor his doctrine. For had they believed his doctrine, *they had believed Christ;*

[k] Our Saviour's miracles and manner of life, so fully suitable to the Mosaical types and predictions of him, condemned the Jews of wilful malice and affected blindness for not laying Moses' law unto their hearts, whose spiritual sense would have brought forth the light of the gospel therein contained, as the branch in the root. So that Moses condemns them immediately, because he was their schoolmaster, and would have taught them Christ, so they would have practised his rules which they acknowledged. Christ's miracles condemn them mediately, and leave them without excuse for not looking more narrowly into the spiritual sense of Moses' writings, which would have enlightened them to have discerned the glory of Christ and his gospel in his works. So as there is no contradiction, but subordination betwixt those places which tell us Christ's words did condemn them, and others wherein Moses or the prophets are said to condemn or leave them without excuse.

for he wrote of Christ. So he might, (thinks the Jesuit,) and yet write so obscurely of him, as his writings could be no rule of faith to the Jews without the visible church's authority. Yea rather they should and might have been a rule unto them for their good against the visible church's authority, and now remain a rule or law against both, to their just condemnation, because the doctrine of Christ was so plainly and clearly set down in these writings, had they set their hearts unto them. Even the knowledge of Christ, the Word of life itself, *was in their mouths, and in their hearts.* For that commandment which Moses there gave them, was *that word of faith* which St. Paul, the infallible teacher of the Gentiles, did preach, as he himself testifies, Rom. x. 8. If any man ask how this place was so easy to be understood of Christ, or how by the doctrine of Moses' law, the doctrine of the gospel might have been manifested to their consciences; my answer is already set down in our Saviour's words: *Had they done God's will,* (revealed unto them in that law,) *they should have known Christ's doctrine to have been of God.*

5. Had they, according to the prescript of Moses' law, repented them of their sins from the bottom of their hearts, the Lord had blotted all their wickedness out of his remembrance. And their hearts once purged of wickedness, would have exulted in his presence that had made them whole; faith would have fastened upon his person, though never seen before. [1]Not the moon

[1] Malachi iv. 2—4. 2. *But unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of righteousness arise, and health shall be under his wings; and ye shall go forth, and grow up as fat calves.* 3. *And ye shall tread down the wicked; for they shall be dust under the soles of your feet in the day that I shall do this, saith the Lord of hosts.* 4. *Remember the law of Moses my servant, which I commanded unto him in Horeb for all Israel, with the statutes and judgments.*

more apt to receive the sunbeams cast upon it, than these Jews' hearts to have shined with the glory of Christ, had they cast away all pride and self-conceit, or the glory of their nation; but unto them, (as now they are, and long time have been,) swollen with pride and full of hypocrisy, Christ's glory is but as clear light to sore or dim-sighted eyes; they wink with their eyes lest they should be offended with the splendour of it. This doctrine of Christ and knowledge of scriptures in points of faith shall be most obscure to us, if we follow them in their foolish pretences of their visible church: most clear, perspicuous, and easy, if we lay Moses' commandments to our hearts. For truth inherent must be as the eyesight, to discern all other things of like nature.

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CHAP. XVIII.

Concluding this Controversy according to the State proposed, with the Testimony of St. Paul.

1. WE may conclude this point with our apostle, *Si evangelium nostrum tectum est, iis qui pereunt tectum est: in quibus deus hujus sæculi excæcavit mentes, id est, infidelibus, ne irradiet eos lumen evangelii gloriæ Christi, qui est imago Dei. If the gospel be obscure,* or rather *hid,* (for it is a light, obscure it cannot be; God forgive me if I used that speech, save only in our adversaries' persons,) *it is hid only to such as have the eyes of their mind blinded by Satan, the god of this world*[m]. Of which number may we not (without breach of charity) think he was one, who, seeing the light and evidence of this place, would not see it, but thought it a sufficient answer to say, *Apostolus non loquitur de intelligentia scripturarum, sed de cognitione et fide in Christum*[n]; "The apostle speaks not

[m] 2 Cor. iv. 3, 4.

[n] Bellarm. lib. 3. de Verb. Dei, cap. 2. Resp. ad 5. arg. The reason why Bellarmine with

of understanding scriptures, but of knowing and believing in Christ." It is well the Jesuit had so much modesty in him as to grant this latter, that he spake at the least of knowing Christ. For if the knowledge of Christ be so clear to the godly and elect, then are the scriptures clear too, so far as concerns their faith. For St. Paul wrote this and all his Epistles only to this end, that men might truly come to the knowledge of Christ. But he meant of a perfect and true knowledge, not such as Bellarmine (when he gave this answer) dreamed of; *ut neque sit puer, neque anus Christiana, quæ non sciat Christum natum, et incarnatum fuisse.* St. Paul's gospel was sufficiently known, (in this man's sense of his words,) because there is "neither Christian child nor old wife, but knows that Christ was incarnate and born." Too many, I fear, of his and his fellows' catechizing, know Christ no otherwise than old wives or little children know ordinary matters or stories past, that is, only by old wives' tales, lying legends, or tradition. And on this fashion and better did the Jews know Moses, and believed on him; yet did they neither know him nor his doctrine as they should have done, nor in such a sense as the scripture useth this word *knowledge*. Such as he would have us content ourselves withal is rather blindness than knowledge, and makes a man never a whit the better Christian, but a greater hypocrite.

2. Let Bellarmine's answer stand thus far for true,

his fellows and many other great scholars besides, make such hypocritical glosses of scriptures, plainly teaching what they deny, is their not considering that the same inordinate affections which made the Jews to reject the very historical truth or letter of the gospel, makes such as admit it content themselves with it only, never looking into the meaning of the Spirit, if it once contradict their desires. Of this fallacy in the 3rd sect. of the 4th book.

that the knowing of Christ and belief of the gospel are manifest to all that are not given over to Jewish blindness. And what it is to know Christ or believe the gospel in St. Paul's phrase, (by God's assistance,) we shall further explicate in the articles following. To know Christ was all St. Paul desired, because it contained all knowledge of scriptures; and whether St. Paul did not desire to know scriptures, or whether he had not his desire herein, let Christian consciences judge.

3. And because I must conclude this point (as I promised) with this testimony of St. Paul: Beloved Christian, whosoever thou art, that shalt read these meditations, ask counsel of thine own heart, consult with thy conscience, consider well, and give sentence
265 betwixt me and this Romish doctor, what kind of knowledge St. Paul here meant: whether an implicit or hearsay knowledge of Christ and his kingdom in gross, or an express, distinct, true knowledge (raised from Moses and the prophets' consonancy with the gospel) of scriptures necessary to men's salvation in their several courses of life. I will not wrong thy judgment so much, as to seek arguments or authorities of expositors, for thy information in this plain undoubted case. It shall suffice to rehearse the words of that law, about whose sense we now contend, and by which we must be tried, from the twelfth verse of the third, to the sixth verse of the fourth chapter of the Second to the Corinthians.

4. *Seeing then we have such trust, we use great boldness of speech, and we are not as Moses, which put a veil upon his face, that the children of Israel should not look unto the end of that which should be abolished. Therefore their minds are hardened. For until this day remaineth the same covering untaken*

away in the reading of the old testament. Yet was the old testament the only scripture in those times easy to be understood, but for this veil. And this veil (as the apostle adds, verse the fourteenth) put away, these scriptures then which were so difficult to the Jew, are easy to all that are in Christ, by whose death the veil was rent, and that light which shone on Moses' face as the sun upon the eastern sky in the dawning, was fully manifested to the inhabitants of the earth since the Sun of Righteousness did appear. For the publishing of the gospel is the putting away of the former veil. But for the Jews, *even until this day*, (saith the apostle,) *when Moses is read, the veil is laid over their hearts. Nevertheless when their hearts shall be turned unto the Lord, the veil shall be taken away*[o]. For this doctrine of St. Paul (as often hath been said) *was in their hearts and in their mouths*, Deut. xxx. 14.

The apostle concludes, *Now the Lord is the Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty*[p]; liberty indeed in respect of that servitude which was under the law; then they were servants *because they knew not their master's will*, John xv. 15. But since the ministry of the new testament, *we all behold as in a mirror the glory of the Lord with open face.* Out of our apostle's discourse, this is most evident, that it was the glory of his ministry, and evidence of doctrine which made him so confident in the execution of this function. God, saith he, *hath made us able ministers of the new testament, not of the letter, but of the spirit*, 2 Cor. iii. 6. And this, compared with the ministry of the old, did far exceed it in glory and perspicuity, as he proves from the sixth verse to the eighteenth.

[o] 2 Cor. iii. 15, 16. [p] 2 Cor. iii. 17. [q] 2 Cor. iii. 18.

5. The judicious reader, though not admonished, would of his own accord observe how the apostle takes clearness and perspicuity as an adjunct of the new testament's glory; the Jesuit's, quite contrary, would make the scripture's dignity and majesty mother of difficulty and obscurity[r]. But because it was so much more glorious and perspicuous than the ministry of the old testament was, the apostle infers, 2 Cor. iv. 1, 2, *Therefore, seeing we have this ministry of the new testament,* (*so glorious and perspicuous,*) *as we have received mercy, we faint not; but have cast off the*
266 *cloke of shame, and walk not in craftiness, neither handle we the word of God deceitfully,* (for why should any when it will approve itself?) *but in declaration of the truth approve ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God.* What proof could he make to their consciences, but only from the evidence of that truth which he taught, and his sincerity in teaching it? These two would bind all such as made any conscience of their ways to admit his doctrine. Whence he infers in the very next words, verse 3, *If then our gospel be hid,* &c. Briefly refuting all the Romanists' objections in this argument, before they were conceived, *punctim,* even to an hair's breadth: for this would have been their commonplace, had they lived in St. Paul's time. You may boast and say, your doctrine of the new testament is evident and manifest; but what wise man will believe you, when a great many, as good scholars as yourself, think the contrary most true. Unto this objection of the Jews then, of the

[r] Cum enim scripturam obscuram esse dicimus, non vitium aliquod indoctrina ipsa divinitus tradita inesse sentimus, sed majestatem atque altitudinem potius ejusmodi sapientiæ et scientiæ Dei, et imbecillitatem ingenii nostri profitemur. Valent. tom. 3. disp. 1. quæst. 1. punct. 7. sect. 4.